

This file contains two articles by the great Iranist Jean de Menasce (1902–1973):

1. "Zoroastrian Pahlavi Writings," from *Cambridge History of Iran*, volume 3(a) (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 1166-1195.

2. "Zoroastrian Literature after the Muslim Conquest," from *Cambridge History of Iran*, volume 4 (New York, 1975), pp. 543-565.

Each chapter is followed by the volume's general abbreviations and bibliography and the chapter's own bibliography.

The material is bookmarked for improved navigation.

This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF IRAN

Volume 3(2)

THE SELEUCID, PARTHIAN
AND SASANIAN PERIODS

edited by

EHSAN YARSHATER

*Hagop Kevorkian Professor of Iranian Studies
Columbia University, New York*



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE

LONDON NEW YORK NEW ROCHELLE

MELBOURNE SYDNEY

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

© Cambridge University Press 1983

This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes.

27 (a) MANICHAEISM AND ITS IRANIAN BACKGROUND 965
*by G. WIDENGREN, Emeritus Professor of the History and Psychology of Religions,
 University of Uppsala*

(b) MAZDAKISM 991
by EHSAN YARSHATER

PART 7: ART HISTORY

28 PARTHIAN ART 1027
by the late DANIEL SCHLUMBERGER

29 (a) SASANIAN ART 1055
*by DOROTHY SHEPHERD, Chief Curator of Textiles and Islamic Art, The
 Cleveland Museum of Art*

(b) SASANIAN SILVER 1113
*by PRUDENCE HARPER, Curator, Ancient Near Eastern Art, The Metropolitan
 Museum of Art, New York*

30 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARTS IN TRANSOXIANA 1130
*by GUILTY AZARPAY, Professor of Near Eastern Art History, University of
 California, Berkeley*

PART 8: LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

31 PARTHIAN WRITINGS AND LITERATURE 1151
by MARY BOYCE

32 (a) ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS 1166
by the late J. P. DE MENASCE, O.P.

(b) MANICHAEAN MIDDLE PERSIAN WRITINGS 1196
by MARY BOYCE

(c) MIDDLE PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS 1205
by PHILIPPE GIGNOUX, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris

33 SOGDIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE 1216
*by MARK DRESDEN, Emeritus Professor of Iranian Studies, University of
 Pennsylvania*

34 KHOTANESE SAKA LITERATURE 1230
by H. W. BAILEY, Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit, University of Cambridge

35 KHWARAZMIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE 1244
by D. N. MACKENZIE, Professor of Oriental Philology, University of Göttingen

36 BACTRIAN LITERATURE 1250
by ILYA GERSHEVITCH, Reader in Iranian Studies, University of Cambridge

CHAPTER 32 (a)

ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS

The late Jean de Menasce had been asked by the Editor of Volume 4 to contribute a chapter on Zoroastrian literature after the Muslim conquest. When he was asked by me to contribute a chapter on Pahlavi literature of the Sasanian period for the present volume he was faced with a familiar dilemma. On the one hand, almost all the Zoroastrian Middle Persian writings that we possess are, in their final form at least, products of the 9th and 10th centuries, when the scholar-priests of the declining Zoroastrian communities of Iran made a notable effort through a literary exercise to defend the faith and instruct the faithful. On the other, the bulk of this literature is based on Sasanian material. As a solution to the problem, Jean de Menasce virtually cut into two the article that he had prepared for Volume 4, and assigned to the present volume the part which describes those works which more properly belong to the Sasanian era, even though assembled, edited, revised or augmented during the early centuries of Islam. His untimely death prevented his being approached to adapt the material more fully to this volume, and in the circumstances I did not think it proper to ask anyone else to alter what he had written so authoritatively. He was the leading authority on the scholastic side of Pahlavi literature, but did not concern himself much with the evolution of Pahlavi imaginative literature or with the more mundane aspects of Pahlavi writings. A compact but comprehensive account of Middle Persian literature in all its aspects is happily available in Mary Boyce's admirable article "Middle Persian Literature" (see bibliography), which the reader may consult with advantage. A few remarks are offered here as an introduction.

Of the imaginative literature of Persia in Sasanian times almost nothing survives in Middle Persian, and this has tended to obscure its width, variety and richness. Some survives, however, through Arabic and Persian translations, and a good deal more in Persian recensions and adaptations. The originals were destroyed partly during the Arab conquest and some subsequent foreign invasions, notably the Mongol onslaught, and partly through religious fanaticism in Iran itself, down to recent times.¹ But the most important factor for the disappearance of Middle Persian works was the neglect and disuse that they suffered as a result of the change of the script and the adoption of Islam. After a lull, a new literature – that of New Persian – emerged, which embodied and continued many of the norms and traditions of Sasanian literature and met the literary needs of the people. It is to this literature above all that we must turn for an appreciation of Sasanian literary genres and conventions.

Apart from religious literature, the most important genres were poetry, fiction, wisdom literature, history, and informative writing.

¹ See M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians* (London, 1979), pp. 209–11.

ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS

Poetry is perhaps the most elusive of these genres, not because it was neglected or weak, but because Sasanian poetry was largely united with music in the art of the minstrels, who had a tradition of oral transmission and usually did not commit their songs to writing.

With the fall of the empire, court minstrelsy, which was highly cultivated by Sasanian monarchs and the nobility, suffered a grievous blow; but the tradition continued, and when local dynasties emerged on Persian soil, court patronage was renewed and the Sasanian tradition was revived in a new *gārb*. Rūdakī, "the blind bard" of the Samanid court, with his lyre accompanying his poems, may indeed be viewed as an incarnation of Nakīsā and Bārbad, the famous musician-poets of the court of Khusrau II. Meanwhile naturally there had been developments, and adjustments had to be made to adapt the Sasanian tradition to a new, non-Zoroastrian environment and to new fashions. The metre, which had been based on stress, was now governed by quantity, and forms and rhyme-schemes of Arabic models were adopted. The language, too, was based now on daily speech and, shorn of the stylistic flourishes and florid turns of phrase of late Sasanian times, had assumed a new quality, enriched by a number of Arabic loan words. But the essence remained. Much of the minstrel poetry was refashioned and many new songs and poems were written. In lyrics and in poems of praise and celebration the spirit as well as much of the imagery of Sasanian poetry lived on; and in the countryside, far less susceptible to Arabic influence, the Sasanian tradition continued practically unchanged.

Heroic poetry had enjoyed considerable popularity since Parthian times, when the *gōsāns*, professional minstrels, sang the adventures of kings and heroes in love and war. Although transmission continued to be chiefly oral, towards the end of the Sasanian period the epic cycles were recorded, systematized and incorporated in a semi-official "national history", the *Khwadāy-nāmag* ("Book of Lords"), which became the ultimate source of Firdausi's monumental work. Even though versified in the 10th century, Firdausi's *Shāhnāma* must be viewed largely as a work of Sasanian literature and a testimony to its richness and scope.¹ We have an original specimen of Sasanian epic poetry in the *Ayādgār i Zarērān*, which relates an episode in the wars between Gushtāsp and Arjāsp the Turanian.²

¹ See Ch. 10(b), pp. 366ff, 393ff, 403ff on the *Khwadāy-nāmag* and its literary aspects.

² Cf. pp. 1157ff above.

ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS

Narrative poems of entertainment, like prose works of fiction, existed and some of them passed into New Persian. For instance, the romance *Vīs u Rāmīn* was versified in the 11th century by the Persian poet Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī after a Middle Persian version of a Parthian original.¹

Works of fiction comprised historical novels, stories, fables, and folk and fairy tales. Of the historical novels the story of Bahrām Chōbīn and the Book of Mazdak, both mentioned by Islamic writers, are reflected in Persian writings.²

Sasanian tales of love and adventure find examples in many popular romances such as the *Sindbād-nāma*, *Dārāb-nāma*, *Firūzshāh-nāma*, and others, which formed the stock-in-trade of professional storytellers and were most probably committed to writing only in the Islamic period. The collection of fables known as *Kalilag ud Dimnag*, a Pahlavi adaptation of the Indian *Pančatantra*, had a great vogue and was translated from Middle Persian into Syriac and Arabic. *Hazār Afsāna* ("A Thousand Tales") is said to have been a collection of stories from which *Alf lail wa laila* ("A Thousand and One Nights") was derived.

Wisdom (*andarz*) literature, common to most Middle Eastern cultures, was greatly cultivated by the priests and the scribal class (*dabīrs*) and included religious, ethical, and practical precepts, maxims and epigrams, as well as gnomic observations.³

History was considered by the Sasanians an important branch of knowledge, but not so much an impartial record of events as a means of validating social and political ideals and institutions, and for personal edification. Too clear a distinction was not accordingly made between fact, legend, and myth, and a good deal of wisdom literature and entertainment material was incorporated. Islamic writers drew extensively on translations of Middle Persian historical works, notably the *Khwadāy-nāmag*. Through their renderings, quotations and adaptations, we can form a fairly clear idea of the content and style of Sasanian

¹ On Sasanian poetry apart from the works cited in Boyce, "Middle Persian Literature", see A. Tafazzoli, "Andarz i Wehzād Farrox Pērōz containing a Pahlavi poem in praise of wisdom", *StR* 1 (1972), pp. 207–17; E. Yarshater, 'Affinities between Persian poetry and music', in P. Chelkowski (ed.), *Studies in art and literature of the Near East in honor of Richard Ettinghausen* (New York, 1974), 59–78; and L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian Metres* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 168ff. On *Vīs u Rāmīn* see p. 1158.

² See Bal'ami, *Tarjuma-yi Tārikh-i Tabari*, ed. M. T. Bahar (Tehran, 1341/1962), pp. 1070–89; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyar al-Mulūk*, ed. H. Darke, 2nd ed. (Tehran, 1968), pp. 257–78; *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat*, ed. M. R. Unvala, vol. II (Bombay, 1922), pp. 214–30; and Ch. 27 (b), pp. 994 ff.

ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS

historiography. (See Chapter 10(b), on “National history”, for further discussion.)

Informative writings had a wide range, comprising geographical works, land surveys and travel guides, astronomical tracts, descriptions of plants, animals and wonders of the world, treatises on etiquette, court procedures and ceremonies, and law books.

Much of this wealth of secular literature was absorbed into the literature of Muslim Persia, composed in New Persian or Arabic; and the relatively few works which survive in Pahlavi (ably dealt with, below, by J. de Menasce) represent only those religious and scholastic compositions which could be preserved by an ever-dwindling band of priestly copyists during centuries of poverty and persecution.

(*Editor*)

The state of Zoroastrian writings in Middle Persian (Pahlavi) is paradoxical in that they represent the literature of a religious minority in its country of origin, where it had once been supreme. Middle Persian evolved rapidly under the influence of Islam and changed social circumstances into New Persian; yet in the Zoroastrian writings of the 9th–10th century we encounter a conservative language, essentially that of Sasanian Persia, in Pahlavi script – a script more cryptic than the Arabic, and in historical or “fossilized” spellings that allow little of the profound changes which the language had gone through to transpire. Our texts are largely expressive of religious ideas and institutions tenaciously held in the course of some two centuries of declining fortunes. The terminology peculiar to them, however, was soon to disappear from the Persian of Islamic Iran.

A small community of Zoroastrians from Khurāsān emigrated in the early 10th century and settled in Gujerat, founding the Pārsi community in India.¹ They were later joined by other Zoroastrians from Iran. Both Iranian and Indian communities, but chiefly the Iranians, have left us a number of works in Pahlavi, which wholly or partially reproduce, paraphrase or loosely reflect Sasanian writings. An account of these will be given here, with consideration of some Arabic and Persian works that were almost certainly translated from Sasanian Pahlavi. Others, which are considered to be the products of Islamic times, are discussed in Volume iv, chapter 17.

¹ S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History* (Bombay, 1920), pp. 70ff; M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians* (London, 1979), pp. 66ff.

THE "DĒNKART"

Pahlavi literature was almost entirely inspired by the body of scriptural texts in Avestan language known to us as the Avesta. But of the original Avesta only about one-quarter has survived, as we gather on the one hand from the lengthy summary of the Avestan Nasks (books) given in Book VIII of the Pahlavi *Dēnkart*, and on the other, from the large number of Pahlavi texts which, to judge by their style, are literal translations from the Avestan of which the original has not survived. These translations, for the most part glossed, are called the Zand, and our estimate of their verbal accuracy or failure to do justice to a dead language, depends on the varying reliability of the extant Pahlavi translations of Avestan books still in our possession. The latter are liturgical texts that were in constant use: the *Yasna*, the *Vidēvdāt*, the "Small Avesta". Whenever an ancient source has to be identified, Book VIII of the *Dēnkart* is the one to which we must turn first; so we may begin by considering the *Dēnkart*.

The *Dēnkart* consists of nine numbered books, of which the first two have disappeared; it is an encyclopaedia of Mazdean knowledge which, in its present form, dates back to the 9th or 10th century.¹ While Book III is an original contribution to Mazdean theology and its defence against Islam, Book IV considers the theological problems of the Sasanian period, and Book V reverts to controversies dating from the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn. Book VI is an immense compilation of moral precepts deriving from the earliest stages of Mazdean thought. The legend of Zoroaster, from glossed and translated Avestan texts, makes up Book VII, and Book VIII is a detailed table of contents of the Nasks of the Avesta, with their divisions and sub-divisions. Book IX, the last, reverts in greater detail to the contents of the three Nasks which appear as commentaries linked with the *Gāthās*. Thus it is apparent that the whole work, with the exception of Books III and V, represents the religious knowledge available to an educated Mazdean during the Sasanian era.

Although Book VIII of the *Dēnkart* provides us with what are often copious summaries of the Nasks, the only complete translations we possess in Pahlavi are the following: the ritual of the principal sacrifice, the *Yasna*; the *Vidēvdāt*, a collection of laws, often recited in its entirety in the course of purification; prayers to the gods (*nyāyišn*); prayers for

¹ See de Menasce, *Une encyclopédie mazdéenne*, pp. 10-12.

THE “DĒNKART”

seasonal feats (*āfrīngān*); the *Ērpatistān*, or laws relating to the function of the *ērpat*; and the *Nīrangistān*, or laws relating to the *drōn* and other matters. The two last formed part of the *Hūspāram* Nask and are preserved with an important part of the Avestan text. Finally the “Zand of the Vohuman Yašt,” to which we shall refer later in connection with eschatology, is unquestionably based on an Avestan writing, although revised in the Pahlavī translation.

All that must be noted here is the nature of these translations and their glosses. Translations of texts of such ambiguity as the Gāthās are as slavish as possible, so much so that, even allowing for inevitable misinterpretations, they do not fulfil the function of a normal translation which is to clarify an incomprehensible text. On closer consideration it would seem that the Pahlavī translation presupposes another, more explicit translation, to which the extant, very literal version merely serves as an auxiliary, almost meaningless to us unless compared with the original Avestan. An analogy might be found in certain literal translations of poetry, intended not to render the thoughts expressed by the verses, but merely to help the reader unfamiliar with the original language. This type of translation is pursued in Pahlavī methodically, a word never being translated by more than one or at most two equivalents. In poetic passages the Avestan word order, although far removed from the usual Pahlavī, is slavishly followed. With clear and simple Avestan prose, by contrast, the translator reasserts his freedom.

Methods of glossing likewise differ; glosses are of a “traditional” kind, as for instance the paraphrases of Pahlavī names of the Ameša Spentas, which add nothing to original names, but relate to etymological meaning; others confine themselves to a repetition of the translation in clearer terms; still others, and this is the case with the *Vidēvdāt* and the *Nīrangistān*, are veritable commentaries interpolated in the translated text, often quoting the opinions and disagreements of the doctors of the Sasanian period. The names of these doctors appear in most of the Pahlavī works dealing with Avestan laws or ritual, as follows: Āparag, Ātur Ohrmazdān, Āturfarnbag Narseh, Āturbōžēt, Āturpāt i Ātrumihr, Āturpāt i Dātfarux, Āturpāt i Mahraspandān, Āturpāt i Zartuštān, Āzātmart, Baxtāfrīt, Brōšān-Ohrmazd (?), Dāt i Ātur-Ohrmazd, Dāt-Ohrmazd, Dāt-Farux, Dāt-Gušasp, Dātēn, Dāt i Vēh (?), Farux, Gōgušasp, Kay-Ātur-bōžēt, Māh-Gušasp, Māh-Ohrmazd, Māh-vindāt, Martbūt i Dāt-Ohrmazd, Martbūt i Māh-Ātur i Gōgušasp,

ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS

Mētyō māh, Narseh-Burzmihr, Nēryōsang Rōšan, Sōšyans, Vind-Orhmazd, Vēh-dōst, Vēh-Gušnasp, Vēh-Šāpūhr, Vōhū-dāt.

A commentary upon several *fargards* (chapters) of the *Vidēvdāt* exists in manuscript in India and part of it in London, but unaccompanied by the text.¹ It may be recalled that commentaries existed in Avestan language and formed part of the Avestan canon. An example has survived in chapters 19–21 of the *Yasna*, where each word in the great ritual prayers is given a learned interpretation. But we know from Book VIII of the *Dēnkart* that the whole *Bag* Nask was a running commentary to the *Gāthās*. A most detailed summary of this Nask takes up one-third of Book IX, leading us to believe that all the hidden potentialities of the text had been pondered at leisure.

The chronology of the commentators of the Sasanian period, however, is mostly unknown; all we know are the names of some who lived in the reign of Khusrav I.

We shall find the same exegetic process in the case of those Avestan texts which, though the original is lost, are available to us in translation and paraphrase. Here again the *Dēnkart* is of inestimable value.

THE LEGEND OF ZOROASTER

Book VII of the *Dēnkart* contains the most complete legend of Zoroaster preserved in Pahlavi. After an account of each episode, written in somewhat archaic language whose slow and ponderous rhythm no doubt reflects an ancient pattern probably in verse, the pericope is briefly resumed in a quotation which is even more closely modelled on a verse original: rather than a prose summary of the story it is a portion of the poem transposed into prose. The life of Zoroaster, within the framework of cosmic history, was contained in its entirety in the *Spand* Nask, summarized in Book VIII of the *Dēnkart*, chapter XIV. The prose passages are frequently enlarged with “quotations”, whose origin may sometimes be ascribed to the *Yašt*s of our Avesta. Besides, it is evident that the legend’s historical unfolding leans on Gāthic verse, itself imbued with timelessness and rhetoric. Schaeder spoke of *midras̄*, which term probably best describes the transition from the liturgical incantatory to the narrative style. The characteristics of the original were brought out cogently by Marijan Molé.²

¹ See J. de Menasce, “A provisional handlist of the late E. W. West’s papers preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society”, *JRAS* 1950, p. 59.

² M. Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l’Iran ancien* (Paris, 1963), pp. 271ff.

THE LEGEND OF ZOROASTER

The “biography” of the prophet in the *Dēnkart* begins with the constitution of Zartušt’s body and before his, the bodies of his parents. The elements which combined to form Zartušt are the *xwarrah*, or light proceeding from Endless Light, the *fravahr* created after the fashion of the Amahraspands, and finally the material essence absorbed by the parents. Even before his birth, and during his early years, he was exposed to the wiles of maleficent beings, demons and sorcerers, who bore the names of hostile chiefs in the *Gāthās*. He was miraculously protected against them, these miracles all being portents of the glorious future of the “prophet”. During his thirties there occurred the central episode of his conversations with the Amahraspands, who by dispensing to him their teaching consecrated him as the bearer of the message contained in the Ahuna Varya, the great prayer of Mazdaism. The second decisive episode is the conversion of King Vištāsp, whom miracles convinced of Zartušt’s divine vocation and who was to become the champion of the new “religion”.¹ Molé sees Vištāsp as the prototype of the “layman”, whereas Zartušt is at once priest and prophet. It might also be said that Vištāsp is the prototype of the royal sacrificer, who dispenses his bounty to the priest and who, by force of arms, sets himself up as defender and propagator of the faith of Mazda and of Iran. Besides the miracles, Vištāsp owed his conversion to a revelation made to him at night by angels sent by Ohrmazd, who also showed him the fate reserved for him after death. Zartušt was then released from prison, where he had been shut up as a result of his enemies’ slander and wiles. The narrative goes on to deal with the “war of religion” and with eschatological events; the former is already known to us through the “Memorial of Zarēr”, which was perhaps written in Pahlavī verse (with an original in Parthian, or even Avestan?), while the latter form the subject of fairly numerous texts, to which we shall turn below.

After the conversion of Vištāsp, the story of Zartušt as an individual becomes blurred, to the extent that even his violent death makes little impression. This again illustrates the difficulty of determining Zartušt’s historicity. The story of his life is part of the historiography of Zoroastrianism, whose stages seem to have resulted from an archaic procedure of combining myths and facts. On the one hand we find the ages of the world, marked by the appearance of the three *sōšyants*, of whom the last introduces eschatological time (victory over adversaries) and the time of the resurrection. On the other hand we have a highly

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 348–86.

schematized sequence of historical facts: the fall of the Kayanian empire through Alexander's conquest; a chaotic period, that of the Seleucids and Arsacids, of which almost nothing is told; the Sasanian accession; the stabilization of Mazdean orthodoxy ushered in by Tōsar (Tansar) in the reign of Ardashir and confirmed by Āturpāt i Mahraspandān under Shāpūr II; the revolutionary heresy of Mazdak under Kavād; finally the Muslim conquest and the fall of the empire. This "historical" form is comprised in the visionary invention, conferring on the latter a kind of "verifiable" consistency. The old texts are used in a flexible and quasi-prophetic manner which permits interweaving them with facts of much later date. This is common practice in apocalyptic literature and is found again at Qumrān, for example, where the text of Habakkuk is applied to the life of the Master of Justice. In Zoroastrianism this system of interpretation is certainly earlier than the Muslim epoch, even though the end of the legend of Zoroaster includes the episode of the Arab conquest. It may be assumed that much the same thing happened here as in the Pahlavī translation of the *Vohuman Yašt* which was based on an old text, enlarged by very precise allusions to the Sasanian and Islamic epochs.

The influence of the legend of Zoroaster, as elaborated in Book vii of the *Dēnkart* from old texts, was considerable, for it was this which provided the substance of the so-called traditional figure of the "prophet". But Book vii is not the only source of this tradition; we possess also several chapters of Book v of the *Dēnkart* which form part of an apologetic exposé addressed to the "pagans" of Dailam and to the Christians, probably those of Iraq.¹ This is a brief life of Zoroaster, without textual references to ancient texts, but its background is substantially the same as the information supplied in Book vii. A more detailed, though shorter life of Zoroaster makes up the second part of the "Selections of Zātsprām", written about the end of the 9th century. It contains episodes attested otherwise only later, in a long Persian poem by Bahrām ibn Paždū, the *Zarātušt-nāma*, which enjoyed great popularity, and part of which, as Rempis has recently shown, is of great antiquity.² The account of Zoroaster after Jaihānī, which has been preserved for us by Shahristānī, also contains details found nowhere else.³ Not surprisingly, during the time when the biographical narrative

¹ See de Menasce, *Encyclopédie*, pp. 29–30.

² C. H. Rempis, "Die Metrik als sprachwissenschaftliches Hilfsmittel im Altiranischen", *ZDMG* cv (1955), pp. *64*–*65*.

³ See J. de Menasce, "Le témoignage de Jayhānī sur le mazdéisme" in E. Green et al. (eds), *Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg* (Uppsala, 1954), pp. 50–9.

“DENKART” VIII AND IX

was current in circles strongly tinged with Islam, it took on the colour of Semitic prophetology to such an extent that the earliest Indo-Iranian or even Iranian characteristics are often difficult to distinguish. Molé’s searching analysis ought at least to put us on our guard.

BOOKS VIII AND IX OF THE “DĒNKART”

In these books we have a very comprehensive translation of the three Gāthic Nasks, the *Sūtkar*, *Varštmansr* and *Bag*. The *Sūtkar* takes up twenty-three chapters which, in Book VIII, are summarized in some ten lines. The first ten chapters contain a collection of various pericopes linked only by their connection with Gāthic wisdom. After chapter xi, the style changes and the narrative becomes interspersed with quotations translated very literally into Pahlavī, recalling epic characters of whom mention is made in the Yašt̄s of the Avesta. Thus, the following passages can be identified as translations: xi, 11–12; xii, 1, 3, 5, 27, 31; xix, 3–5; xx, 4–9; xxi, 2–7, 10, 18–24; xxii, 10–13. The *Varštmansr* comprises chapters xxiv to xlvi, this too being almost entirely epic, and interspersed with quotations. These two Nasks give reason to believe that translations of the Yašt̄s still survived in the Sasanian period, and were drawn on freely for quotations, but for some unknown reason were not preserved in their entirety. Our difficulty in understanding these extracts probably arises from the fact that the context, which alone could throw light on them, was presumed to be known. By contrast the *Bag*, which is a spiritual commentary on the Gāthās, interprets each verse by recourse to analogy. Great emphasis is placed on the relation between disciple and teacher, so as to link the former across generations with Zoroaster himself. Since Book IX of the *Dēnkart* gives so much space to the “summary” of these Nasks, the translations probably formed the basis of teaching during a period (Sasanian and post-Sasanian) when Avestan was little known outside the clergy, but Pahlavī was still a living language.

The same applies to the chapters of Book VIII that deal with the legal Nasks; it is their living application, their usefulness, which explains why they received such detailed treatment. Besides, the law is always conservative; not infrequently passages begin with: “It is said in the Religion . . .” or simply: “It is said somewhere . . .” in books on liturgy or canon law, as well as in such collections of mythological lore as the *Bundahišn*. Unlike the *Mātigān i hazār dātistān*, of which we shall speak later, and which deals principally with the law of obligations, the Nasks summarized at length in Book VIII of the *Dēnkart*, concern penal law

ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS

and agricultural common law. The *Nikādūm* Nask would appear to have comprised 30 chapters, divided into collections such as the *Patkār-ratistān*¹ which deals with litigation and pleas of evidence, and the *Zahmistān*² and the *Rēsistān*³ devoted to assault, wounding, and other acts of violence. The *Hamēmāristān* deals with true and false accusations and the ways of distinguishing them. Other chapters, having no special title, must have contained a very large number of disparate decisions connected with penal law. The *Dužd-sar vijat* (?) deals with different forms of theft, with everything touching on guard and sheep dogs, with cattle, and with the military. The *Hūspāram* began with the *Ērpāstān* and the *Nirangistān*, which are here in summarized form, but have survived elsewhere. The *Ērpāstān* does indeed give Avestan text, but a few sentences only, which do no more than recall a context that doubtless used to be known more or less by heart. The Pahlavi translation and commentary develop somewhat the original contents, concerning duties attached to the sacerdotal office. Apart from his responsibility as an itinerant teacher, the priest was the guardian of "property", no doubt sacred buildings and their furniture, and this restricted his movements. However, his wife could take his place at certain sacred offices. Again, a child could be taken by an ērpāt on his travels, continuing its education – for the most part the memorizing of texts. The *Nirangistān*, which is much longer with a very explicit commentary, deals with liturgical practice, particularly with the sacrifice of the *drōn* (sacred cake). The text's lacunae and dislocations, in no way corresponding to the summary of the *Dēnkart*, make it rather difficult to understand. There is no doubt that the text has suffered amendments and additions. *Aogemadaēčā* is a short treatise that has also survived with an abridged Avestan text distributed so as to form headings which introduce consecutive Pahlavi text. Its contents are a strange admonition to the living, reminding them of the imminence of inevitable death, for which they must prepare themselves. An intensive study of ritual comparing present practice in Iran and India with that expounded in Pahlavi, Persian, and Gujarati texts has yet to be made, and the editing of the Avestan portions of the *Nirangistān*, begun by Waag, deserves to be continued. It is clear that this research would greatly benefit works on ancient Indian ritual, since their progress would be based on better documentation.

¹ West, *Pahlavi Texts* iv, p. 35.

² *Ibid.*, p. 39; *zatamistān* is a pseudo-historical spelling.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS

“ZAND I FRAGART I VĪDĒVDĀT”

Only about half of this long and as yet unpublished text is available in Europe, in a copy made by West. It concerns questions and answers relating to matters of ritual purity, the principles of which are set out in the *Vidēvdāt*. Since the list of commentators quoted in this work is almost the same as in the consecutive commentary that accompanies the Avestan text of the *Vidēvdāt*, it may be concluded that both are of the same period.

“PATĒT”

These formularies of confession of sins are three in number: the two “Patēts of Repentance” (*patēt i pašmānk*) and a “True Patēt” (*patēt i xvat*). The three differ only in the amount and order of the material. They cover all the moral and ritual aspects of family and personal life, thus giving a full picture of morality, though from an entirely negative point of view, in the manner of Artā Virāf’s journey into hell. To find the positive aspect we must turn to the Andarz literature in all its variety.

“ŠĀYAST NĒ-ŠĀYAST”

This collection of mainly ritual prescriptions is entirely based on older magisterial decisions of which the “genealogy” is given. Thus the two well-known schools of commentators derive, in the case of Mētyōmāh, from Ātur-Ohrmazd through Gōgušasp, and in the case of Āparag, from Āturfarnbag-Narseh through Sōšyans. This, the only available chronological information concerning the commentators, is entirely relative. The subjects treated are as follows: varieties of defilement arising from contact with carrion (chapter ii); uncleanness in women (iii); the wearing of the *kustik* and possibilities of solecism thereby (iv); the sin of talking while eating (v); the mistakes and meritorious deeds for which a deaf-mute may be responsible; false religions (vi); sun and fire worship (vii); the expiation of sins, particularly through confession and penance (*patēt*) (viii); certain cultic acts, and sundry commandments and interdicts (ix and x).

The text ends here, to be followed, in good manuscripts, by the *Frahang-i Ōim*, which is an old Avesta-Pahlavi glossary. But another, and very similar series of chapters has been linked to the *Šāyast-nē-šāyast* by modern editors.¹ Here we find chapter xi dealing with animal

¹ West, *Pahlavi Texts* 1, pp. 334ff.; Kotwal, *The supplementary texts to the Šāyest nē-šāyest*.

ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS

sacrifice, a subject also summarized in the *Pāčag* Nask in book viii of the *Dēnkart*, chapter vii, and in at least one other Pahlavī text, the *Rivāyat*, chapter lix; chapter xii deals with various ritual subjects; chapter xiii is an exegesis of Gathic verses according to their liturgical use and particularly their apotropaic value; chapter xiv is about the *drōn* and the divisions of the day; chapter xv is a dialogue between Zartušt and Ohrmazd, in which the latter explains his invisibility, and the protective rôle of the Amahraspands; chapters xvi–xvii enumerate prayers to be said in certain circumstances; chapter xviii deals with the importance of the rites of the Myazd and the Gāhānbārs, and with the practice of the Xvētōdas; chapter xix is about the excellence of the Ahunvar prayer; chapter xx is wholly composed of the precepts of the ancient sages (*pōryōtkēśān*), to whom they are expressly attributed in Book vi of the *Dēnkart*, where all are to be found (the two texts may well have been re-copied independently from an older text, the more so since the order of the precepts, as well as the introductory formulas, differ from each other); chapter xxi deals with the manner of computing time, while chapter xxii is devoted to vows to the various deities whose specific domains are set out in chapter xxiii. Subjects of the same kind are dealt with in several chapters of the Pahlavī *Rivāyat* to be discussed later.

A short text in Pāzand called “The son avid of knowledge” is an exposé, in the form of a dialogue between father and son, of the symbolism attached to the wearing of the sacred belt, the *kustik*. Its basis is the doctrine, of some antiquity in Mazdaism, of microcosmic man.

“ARTĀ VIRĀF NĀMAK”

This book, one of the most popular in the Mazdean world, is a description of the joys of paradise and, still more, of the pains of hell, its setting being a journey into the beyond made by a pious Mazdean, Artā Virāf, who is chosen by fate to go there and find out if the daily religious acts of the Mazdean community are really acceptable to the gods and of no advantage to the dēvs. The journey is reputed to have taken place in the great Ātur Farnbag fire temple, that is to say in Pārs, during the Sasanian period. Artā Virāf has taken to wife his seven sisters who, attended by priests, spend seven days and seven nights carrying out their devotions around their husband and brother, who has been put to sleep by means of a powerful narcotic. On waking, he tells his story, which is recorded by a scribe. The work is of small literary merit; all the chapters describ-

ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS

ing hell and the various punishments are constructed on exactly the same pattern, with endless repetitions. But the interest of the work lies in its purport, namely the need to make sure of the efficacy of ritual, and here the work is curiously reminiscent of the Katha Upanishad in the amount of light it throws on liturgical practice, and in the account it provides of moral life. It was largely to this aspect that its popularity was due in the Mazdean world; large numbers of illustrated versions were produced in Persian and Gujarati, the majority of the former in verse. It is also the first Mazdean work to have been translated into a European language by way of Persian. Independent of linguistic criteria, there is every evidence that the work dates from the Muslim period, that is from a period when, faith and religion being in decline, it became expedient to revive them among the people by a lurid description of the pains of hell. We should note also the recapitulation of the famous ordeal to which Āturpat i Mahraspandān submitted under Shāpūr II, to attest the truth of his religion against the heretics. The work counts as a precursor of Dante's *Divina Commedia*.¹

“YAVIŠT I FRYĀN”

Yavišt i Fryān, a character known to us only through two brief allusions in the Avesta (in Yašts v and xiii), undertakes to solve the riddles set for him by the sorcerer, Axt; failure spells death. At the beginning of the game, Yavišt protests at a ruse of Axt, who, to contaminate him, had hidden impurities in his dwelling. These having been removed, he is ready to submit to the test of the 33 riddles which he progressively solves. They are of a type familiar in the extensive universal literature of riddles. At the 28th, which concerns the question of feminine preference, Axt, in order to prove Yavišt wrong, calls as witness his wife, Hupars, who is also Yavišt's sister. Faced with the choice between husband and brother, Hupars resolves to tell the truth. On seeing himself foiled, Axt flies into a rage and kills her on the spot; but from then on her place is in paradise. The 29th question is solved thanks only to a revelation from above which saves Yavišt from a dangerous predicament. Having won, he in turn asks three questions which confound Axt and Yavišt kills him. The general nature of the questions and the framework of the story are so common in the folklore of all countries and periods that it would be extremely difficult to put a date to them.

¹ Boyce, “Middle Persian Literature”, p. 48, n. 3; Pagliaro, p. 35.

ANDARZ LITERATURE

This form of wisdom literature is of long standing in the East. In the Achaemenian period we have, in the Jewish community of Elephantine, besides fragments of the Aramaic version of the trilingual Behistun inscription, other fragments of the writing known by the name "Wisdom of Ahiqar". In the Pahlavi summary of the *Bariš* (or *Brēh*) Nask in Book VIII of the *Dēnkart*, chapter ix, besides the moral sayings and lists of virtues and vices, some beginnings of systematization are perceptible, showing that Greek thought, following the tradition of the Nicomachean ethics, must have played a part, perhaps after the arrival of the Greek doctors at the court of Darius. The discoveries, in 1954 and 1958, of the Greek translation of the edicts of Aśoka in Afghanistan, written in learned language with the elegance and assurance of terminology of the best Greek philosophic vocabulary, suggest a much closer contact between the Greek and Iranian worlds than might have been supposed. It is necessary, then, to specify the influence of Greek moral science on its Iranian counterpart. It would appear that the former became superimposed upon the latter, organizing it, rather than providing its basic elements. Thus a system was imposed upon the somewhat indeterminate grouping of virtues and vices, which it classified in relation to an ideal Mean, from which they deviated through excess or deficiency. Vices were not merely opposed to virtues; they could be similar, and this involved other categories. Furthermore, the catalogues linked moral dispositions with their basic institutions, such as the sacred fires. It is difficult to summarize these inventories. We may say, however, that emphasis is placed on the virtues of generosity, courage, truthfulness, wisdom, kindness, the whole being dominated by that Mean which reputedly distinguishes Mazdean ethics and theology from neighbouring religions, these being accused, in particular, of exaggeration and avarice. It will be noticed that the part played by the Mean as a distinctive sign of Mazdaism was later claimed by the very earliest Muslim apologists, and more widely, by the whole of Muslim heresiology.

These collections, called "testaments" (this is the meaning of the word *andarz*; cf. *anandarz* "intestate"), are presented as spiritual declarations made before death by a person, historical or otherwise (Ardashir, Khusrav for example, but also Sēn and Ōšnar). The word quickly acquired the meaning "counsel", without, for all that, losing its original sense. The testaments known to us in Pahlavi often repeat

ANDARZ LITERATURE

themselves and borrow from each other, more or less freely, precepts arranged in no sort of order. Their style and composition are without marked characteristics. The *Andarz i Pōryōtkēšān* (“Counsel of the Ancient Sages”) sometimes wrongly called the *Pandnāmak i Zartušt* (“Book of the counsels of Zartušt”) stresses particularly confession of the two principles and the two ways, the certainty of after-life and the retribution awaiting us there. The “Counsel of the Sages” to the Mazdeans deals with man’s daily duties and the fragility of life. The end is probably in verse with the same rhyme throughout. The Andarz of Khusrau I, the son of Kavād, supplements this theme with counsels of moderation in matters of virtue, and of staunchness in matters of faith. From Āturpat i Mahraspandān we have “Sayings” and an Andarz whose overlapping texts comprise the most diverse counsels on social morals. An intercalation in the Andarz enumerates occupations recommended for different days of the month. The “Memorial of Vuzurgmehr”, which is believed to have been written at Khusrau’s behest and deposited in the royal treasury, was mostly recorded in the form of question and answer. There exists a very valuable translation of this in Arabic. Again, of the *Pahlavi Texts* published by J. M. Jamasp-Asana, ten are short Andarz texts, of which half are either acephalous or lack titles; here, among others, are found the names of Vehzāt i Frāv-Pērōz, Āturfarnbag i Fraxvzātān (post-Sasanian), Baxtāfrīt, Āturpāt i Zartuštān, and Mihrpān Xusrau. Also included is a description of “the character and wisdom of a man well endowed by fate”, more poetic than most Pahlavi texts, and a curious formula for “mending one’s luck”.

A somewhat lengthy Andarz by Ōšnar begins with a numbered series of realities, grouped from 1 to 6 (it was said that the number would reach one thousand!). After a lacuna, there follow various questions put by a disciple with the replies of the sage, Ōšnar. The *Pahlavi Rivāyat* (chapter lxvii) contains an Andarz by Mihr-Ōhrmazd recounted by his disciple, Āturpat i Mahraspandān.

The most important of these Andarz works is Book vi of the *Dēnkart*, which purports to recount the sayings of the *pōryōtkēšān* (primitive masters), as well as some precepts, and even anecdotes from the mouths of such doctors of the Sasanian period as Āturpat i Mahraspandān, Āturpat i Zartuštān, Baxtāfrīt, and Vohūdāt i Ātur-Ōhrmazdān.¹ The anecdotes show us the ērpat, a member of the lower class of Zoroastrian clergy, as illustrative of an ideal of poverty and simplicity

¹ Ed. and tr. S. Shaked; see bibliography.

which was no doubt to become that of the Muslim dervishes, but which was already apparent in the concern shown for the *drigu* in Avestan prayers. Here, virtues and vices are subjected to learned classification while, apart from morals, the work throws light on points of doctrine and ritual. It contains a mass of information, put together in the utmost disorder. Some paragraphs are found individually in other works, as in the second part of the *Šāyast-nē-šāyast*.

The *Mēnōk i Xrat* “Menonian Wisdom and the Scholar” is one of the earliest known translated books in Pahlavi literature. Its teaching is presented in the form of replies by the Spirit of Wisdom, or transcendent wisdom, to various questions put by a sage. Most of the 63 chapters develop moral themes; a number of others deal with metaphysics (22, 23 and 24) and with cosmology of a more or less mythological nature (44, 49, 56, 57, 62). The first series deals with the relation between human action and fate, between freedom and predestination, problems that cannot fail to arise from reflection, however transitory, the more so in an environment where a systematized theology already existed. We recall, in this connection, those Jewish and Christian circles in Mesopotamia which are known to have indulged, within the limits dictated by prudence, in discussions with the “Magi”. While these problems were to become more acute after the Islamic conquest, with Qur’anic texts providing their own answers, they were certainly not the result of the controversy with Islam. Similarly, there is no need to attribute the Mazdean speculations of the *Mēnōk i Xrat* and the *Bundabišn* to a “heresy” based on the concept of time, as has been done. Speculations on time are of long standing in Mazdaism, and endogenous to it.

Other fragments of the Andarz type are scattered throughout Book III of the *Dēnkart*; these are the series of ten “counsels” imparted to men by Zartušt, Sēn, Āturpat i Mahraspandān and Khusrav i Kavātān, which are answered by pernicious counsels given by mythical heretics such as Axt (Yavišt i Fryān’s adversary), and historical ones such as Māni (chapters 195 to 201).¹

“Khusrav and the Page” belongs to the same category of writings; its emphasis is more on courtly *savoir vivre* than on morals. A young man, poor and without employment, presents himself to the king, whom he asks to question him in order to test the extent of his knowledge of the most diverse aspects of luxurious living: jesters, women,

¹ De Menasce, *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart*, pp. 202–11.

ANDARZ LITERATURE

perfumes, mounts, pleasures of the table. The young man shows himself so adept that the king entrusts him with the task of capturing two lions that were ravaging the district. On his way he meets a beautiful woman who, seeking to tempt him, suggests that they exchange favours. This he refuses to do and, on accomplishing his task, receives his reward at the hands of the king, who praises his self-control. The text is elegant in style and abounds in rare concrete words. A somewhat free Arabic translation is found in the "History of the Kings of Persia" by Thā'ālibī.¹

This is not the only Arabic translation of an Andarz text. The literary genre experienced considerable development in Islamic literature, both Arabic and Persian. Though late, such translations and adaptations add details to the general literary scene of the Sasanian period. Only few are known to us as yet, but the *Fibrīst* of Ibn al-Nadīm contains a considerable list of them.

The *Kārnāmag i Anōširvān*, which is reproduced in full in the *Tajārib al-umam* of Miskawaih,² is presented in the form of extracts from the reminiscences and thoughts of Khusrāu I. It contains hitherto unpublished information about attempts of a politico-religious nature against the king by sectarians, and about the king's concern for the administration and the preservation of traditional social classes among soldiers and peasants. From it we learn of the king's relations with foreign peoples, notably the Turkish Khazars, whom he rallied to his own support and to whom he sent Mazdean "missionaries"; of the progress of legislation; and of his borrowing from Greek and Hindu culture, without hesitation despite the difference in religious premise.

The "Testament of Ardashīr Pāpakān" which is contained in an Istanbul manuscript (Köprülü 1608),³ would appear to date from the very last period of the Sasanian dynasty.⁴ It deals with royal government in all its major aspects: interdependence of royalty and religion; need for the king to temper severity with mercy; avowed preference for a régime that would inhibit too much reflection among common people, and thereby obviate dissension and rebellion; maintenance of strict class divisions; prudent conduct by the king in regard to his intimates and high officials; mastery of his passions and measure in the exercise of virtue; caution over too hastily announcing the name of the successor to the throne. The same manuscript includes the translation

¹ *Histoire des rois des Perses*, ed. and tr. H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1900), pp. 705–11.

² Vol. I, pp. 187–207 (GMS o.s. VII, 1); tr. Grignaschi, pp. 16–28.

³ Ed. İhsān 'Abbās; see bibliography to Ch. 10(b). ⁴ Grignaschi, pp. 1–2.

of a book which Ardashir is said to have commissioned as an appendix to a treatise “on the tranquil life and the rules concerning food and drink”, and “the sweetness of education and the virues”. It also discusses the advantageous employment of time; clothes appropriate to a man’s condition and circumstances; ceremonial at meals; marks of distinction among men; relations with women in accordance with their psychology and rôle in society; the education of boys; the relation of the king with his people.

The short tract on “the manner in which Khusrau I ordered the ceremony of the address from the throne on the occasion of the Naurōz” confirms what we learn from Thā‘alibī and the *Sūr Saxvan*.¹ “The Letter of Tansar (Tosar)” to the king of Tabaristān, familiar in the Persian translation, by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Isfandyār (beginning of the 13th century) from an Arabic translation made by the great writer Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ from the Pahlavī, is probably a transposition; under pretext of describing Ardashir’s good government so as to win over the king of Tabaristān, a later and more complex state of affairs is eulogized. Tosar, whom we know from the *Dēnkart* as Ardashir’s religious and legal adviser, reveals himself as an ascetic who had chosen his condition of life to show detachment and thereby gain a hearing from men whom he wishes to influence. Ardashir achieved the unity of Iran by overcoming the numerous princelings who, in conventional Sasanian historiography, which ignored the intervening Parthian rule, had governed it after Alexander’s conquest. Ardashir’s greatest accomplishments were the division of society into four strictly separated classes, the inauguration of sumptuary and successory laws, and the organization of political espionage. Succession to the throne, however, would not seem to have been by primogeniture. Eulogy of the king is mingled with eulogy of race and country, and the argument is coloured by the inclusion of some apologetics. The letter certainly enjoyed some popularity, and one of its passages was quoted by Birūnī in connection with matrimonial and successorial systems in ancient Persia. It is of no small literary merit.

The work containing the largest number of literal quotations of Pahlavī texts in Arabic translation is the *Jāvidān Xirad* by Abū ‘Ali b. Miskawaih, whose interest in Iranian traditions we have noted before. The part devoted to “Persian Wisdom” amounts to an anthology of Andarz texts, most of them in such disarray that it would be hard to

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 129–35.

identify the immediate origin of each. But the work includes a translation of the "Memorial of Vuzurg mihr," of which we possess the Pahlavī original and which enables us to make an accurate comparison and reach certain conclusions about the process of translation.¹ Firstly it is apparent that the Arabic version is based on a better text than the one that has survived. But the translator has taken certain liberties, eliminating the affirmation of dualism and those propositions too obviously Mazdean. The richness of the Arabic vocabulary permits a closer approach to the sense of the Pahlavī words, which without such help we would have to translate in accordance with their etymology alone. Yet the faithfulness of the translation is assured by the fact that the author does not make use of those more or less Aristotelian categories found in his other works.

We have still to exploit the Persian works discovered by Mujtabā Minovī in Turkish libraries, which, according to his table of contents, are based on the Andarz of the Sasanian period. Finally, the numerous passages in the *Shāh-nāma*, skilfully versified, leave no room for doubt that Firdausi did use the Pahlavī texts, and must certainly be included in any study or account of the translated literature.

Two short writings also belong here: the *Vitārišn i čatrang* or explanation of the game of chess, and the *Sūr saxvan* or table talk. The former tells of the introduction of chess from India into Iran. King Yasodharman (according to Hansen),² Devidarman (Pagliaro),³ or Sacidharman (Nyberg)⁴ sends a game of chess to King Khusrav I challenging him to discover the rules. Taking up the challenge, the sage Vuzurgmihr guesses them and explains them to the Indian king's emissary, who concedes defeat. Vuzurgmihr then retaliates by inviting the Indian to guess the rules of the pre-eminently Iranian game of backgammon (*Nēv-Ardašir*). Now these correspond to the workings of the macrocosm of which the game is a miniature version. The Indian sage having been beaten, the king finds himself obliged to pay tribute to Khusrav. This is without doubt the earliest description of the game of chess, though the game is certainly of Indian origin, and as such has a place in the history of our own culture.

¹ D. Gimaret, *Le livre de Bilawhar et Budāṣ selon la version arabe ismaïlienne* (Hautes études islamiques et orientales d'histoire comparée, 3; Geneva-Paris, 1971), pp. 38-41.

² In the Acts of the XIXth International Congress of Orientalists (Rome, 1935).

³ "Sulla più antica storia del giuoco degli scacchi", RSO xviii (1940), pp. 328-40; *idem*, "Il testo pahlavico".

⁴ H. S. Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi* II (Wiesbaden, 1974), p. 171.

ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS

The *Sūr saxvan* is a model of table talk, before and after dinner, in which praise is bestowed on the gods and high dignitaries, wishes expressed on man's behalf, and thanks given to all those who took part in the preparation of the banquet. Its interest lies primarily in the enumeration of high officials in order of dignity, giving reason to conclude that it was written at the earliest under Khusrau I. Again, to anyone studying the ordering of the numerous banquets described by Firdausī in the *Shāh-nāma*, the existence of a text of this kind dating from the Sasanian period is not without interest.

THE PAHLAVI "RIVĀYAT" ACCOMPANYING THE "DĀTISTĀN I DĒNĪK"

This is a group of unrelated chapters, bearing on a great variety of subjects. To judge by the introductory words "it is said in a passage . . ." and by the instructional character of the text, which purports to be the reply of Ohrmazd to a question from Zartušt, some of the chapters would appear to hark back to lost writings of the Avestan canon. Others reproduce verbatim some pages of the *Nirangistān*. It is not easy to date the book; even a passage stating that the adepts of an evil religion inherited from their parents failed to incur disapprobation, does not prove that Islam was already involved. For a similar statement is found in Book vi of the *Dēnkart* relating to Jews, and another in the *Rivāyat i Emēt i Ašavahīstān*, which is certainly of the Muslim period. Even though late, the *Rivāyat* contains only such doctrines as must have been current during the Sasanian period.

Some of its chapters are long; chapter 8 is on the Xvētōdas, 17 and 37 are on the sanctity of fires and the manner of their consecration and protection, giving the story of the trial of Keresāsp's soul by the fire that he once "struck" and which seeks to prevent him going to heaven after his death; 46 depicts the creation of the actual elements of Ohrmazd; 47 concerns the conversion of Vištāsp as outlined in Book vii of the *Dēnkart*; 48–50, 52, 54 are about eschatology; 62 is an Andarz and 64, a lapidary that is similar to a Turkish fragment found at Turfān. The remainder deal primarily with ritual and legal dispositions, but are of no less interest than the theological chapters inasmuch as they complete the information found in more systematic works such as the *Bundahišn* and the *Dēnkart*. A certain number of chapters were later translated into the archaic Persian used by Zoroastrian minorities, and incorporated into a collection of traditions called the *Sad-Dar*, from

ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS

which, by comparison, some idea may be gained of the excellence of this Pahlavī text.

“ADVĒNAK-NĀMAK I NIPEŠIŠNĪH”

This book of “models of epistolary style” contains polite formulas for use in various circumstances, happy and unhappy, at the beginning and end of letters addressed to sovereigns or to men of diverse conditions, whether rich or poor. Here we have one of the few examples surviving from the Sasanian period, of a fustian, obscure style that will recur later in the “Epistles of Manūščihr” and in Book iv of the *Dēnkart*, but which had certainly been fully developed under the Sasanians.

A short text entitled “The Duties of a Schoolboy” has been preserved in Pāzand, that is, Pahlavī set down in Avestan characters. It is addressed to children exhorting them to carry out their daily tasks well, especially their school-work. This is a rare piece of evidence on the methods of education in Iran.

We shall now pass to writings of a very different kind, those dealing with history and geography; though not devoid of myth or legend, they are rooted in reality.

“KĀRNĀMAK I ARDAŠĪR I PĀPAKĀN”

This is one of the most popular books in Pahlavī literature because of its lively, flowing style and the fact that nearly all of it was reproduced in the *Shāh-nāma*. It is the story of the life of the Sasanian dynasty’s founder, who is connected on the one hand with the Achaemenians through his descent from the last sovereign of that dynasty, and on the other with the Parthian royal house, through his supposed adoption, although he was Sāsān’s son,¹ by his suzerain, Pāpak, a vassal of the last of the Arsacids, Ardavān, who summons the young man to his court. His very courage brings about his disgrace, and he is relegated to the rank of royal groom. The old king’s favourite young mistress falls in love with him and helps him to flee; he hastens towards the glorious fate foretold by the stars. A lord called Bēvak offers him his support, thus enabling him to raise an army and to defeat Ardavān, whom he kills and whose daughter he marries. Thus the descendant of the Achaemenians² becomes united with the descendant of the

¹ By his marriage to Pāpak’s daughter, according to the legend in the *Kārnāmak*, contradicted though by Ardashīr’s inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam, where he calls himself Pāpak’s son.

² Actually the Kayanians, since Dārā (Darius) was considered in Sasanian lore the last king of that dynasty. See pp. 389ff. Ed.

Arsacids and effects the synthesis of dynastic legitimation. The scenes of his deeds as a king who gains his kingdom at the point of the sword, and establishes cities and sacred fires, are Fārs and Kirmān. He fights against the Kurds, also called Medes; against a person named Haftovāt¹ (misspelt Haftānbūxt), king of a region in southern Fārs; against another princeling of Fārs called Mihrak, son of Anōšakzāt, whom he vanquishes after a few reverses. His wife, on the prompting of her exiled brothers, tries to poison him but fails, the plot is discovered, and she is condemned to death. But the mobed charged with her execution takes pity on her because of her pregnancy, and in secret she gives birth to a son, Shāpūr; the mobed does not inform Ardashir of this until long afterwards when his rage has abated. Meanwhile, astrologers having predicted that his kingdom would revert to Mihrak's line besides his own, he resolves to kill off all his rival's descendants. The only survivor, a girl, goes into hiding and is accidentally discovered by the young Shāpūr, who, without knowing her identity, marries her clandestinely. Ardashir only learns of it when he sees his grandson, Hormizd; he then knows that the prophecy has been fulfilled. The story, though lacking all embellishment, is very much alive. It appears to be based on a source not quite coincident with Firdausi's, which is founded principally on the *Xwadāy-nāmak*, known to us through Muslim historians. The geographical information, the founding of towns and sacred fires, would seem to be evidence of the book's revision or even of its composition at about the end of the Sasanian period. At least we know from Ibn al-Nadīm that a work with the same title had been translated from Pahlavī into Arabic.

“SHAHRISTĀNHĀ I ĒRĀNSHAHR”

This is a catalogue of the principal towns of Iran, classified according to the four regions that divide the country, with information about their founders, whether mythical or historical, and sometimes about the circumstances of their foundation. It is certainly late and should not be considered a reliable source on every score. Even after Markwart's fine research, which led to the appearance of his annotated edition, further work is needed. The same is true in respect of the many geographical chapters of the *Bundahišn* (see below), which are extremely confused and full of repetition, and mingle myth with history and

¹ W. B. Henning, “Ein persischer Titel im Altaramäischen” in M. Black and G. Fohrer (eds), *In Memoriam Paul Kable* (Berlin, 1968), pp. 138–45.

THE LAW BOOK

geography. To the same category of writings belongs a short text on the “Miracles of Sistān”.

THE LAW BOOK

The only original work to come into this category, which must also be seen as complementing the chapters of Book viii of the *Dēnkart*, summarizing the titles of the legal Nasks, is the *Mātigān i hazār dātistān*. This is not a codex but a collection of laws and decrees, often accompanied by jurists’ precepts, grouped into subjects but without any definition or explanation of the legal principles involved. Here it does not differ from the “codices” of ancient Mesopotamian civilizations. Neither does it cover the whole of Sasanian law: penal and agrarian law is almost entirely omitted. But on the subject of civil and family law and the law of contractual obligations, it is the only book that gives us a true idea of social relations in Sasanian society as seen from within. This is what renders its study of great importance. The content is given below, in accordance with the numeration of chapters proposed by Bulsara, but it must be remembered that the work has survived in one manuscript only, a manuscript both defective and incomplete.¹

Evidence (1), advocates (2), plaintiffs (3), slaves (5), societies (6), divorce (7), the representative (8), deterioration and other hazards to which legal documents may be subject (9), interdiction (10), ordeal and oath (11), payments to be made on family wealth (12), the transfer of property (13), the daughter “*ēvakēn*” (14), the “potestas” (15), preliminary payment without security (16), food and maintenance (17), the establishment of fires and sacrifices (18), marriage with a *pātixšayihā* woman (19), the *gubārēn* (“exchange, compensation”) (20), pawning (21), partnership of two men for the construction of a *qanāt* (22), the *stūrib* (23), sharing and participation (24), the performance of an obligation contracted with associates (25), the half-portion and declared value (26), security binding on several (27), declaration of possession (28), possession of property (29 and 37), association (30), words designating a contractual agreement (31), adoption (32), fines and the contracts specifying them in case of non-performance (33), earnest money (34), profits and their division (35), disobedience of women and children in respect of their *sardār* (36), formulas describing effective possession (38), specific legal formulas (39), the competence of officials (40), written and sealed documents (41), judgements in accord (42),

¹ See chapter 18 on Sasanian law. Ed.

ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS

judgements known through old documents, written and sealed (43), judgements giving the opinion of *dastūrs* (44).

The author gives his name, *Farraxvmarī i Vrahrāmān*, in a preface which unfortunately is very badly preserved. We can deduce from it that he was writing at a time when the law of the Sasanian empire was still being administered in its entirety, and the authority and powers of the King of Kings were still recognized. But is it fact or is it a legal fiction combining both the hope and the expectation that the fallen dynasty be restored? The kings named in the *Mātigān* run from Yazdgard I (399–421) to Khusrau Parvīz (590–628). To all intents and purposes, this marks the end of the Sasanian period and, if the book is of later date, there is nothing to prevent it describing conditions that no longer correspond with actuality. There are other examples in the history of civilization of legal systems that continued to be studied and commented on, even though they had in fact been abolished. As for the names of the places cited, whether as hypothetical examples or as administrative centres with their own customs, these relate to the whole of southern Iran, notably to Fārs. A large number of jurists, whose opinions sometimes conflict, are cited as authorities, the author on occasion proclaiming his partiality. It remains to be seen whether general tendencies are discernible in the interpretation of law or custom according to the jurisconsult or his school. The last chapter headings indicate that legal procedure was sometimes based on precedent, rather than on written laws.

A short writing entitled the “Contract of the Master of the House” provides illustration on several details given in the *Mātigān* on “plenary” marriage, in particular about the size of the dowry.

“SELECTIONS OF ZĀTSPRAM” AND THE “BUNDAHIŠN”

Two works must now be considered which are of great importance in the study of the post-Avestan development of the great myth of Ahriman’s struggle against Ohrmazd and his creatures. They are incontestably later than the Sasanian period but, we believe, contain nothing attributable to contact with Islam, or falling outside the common province of Mazdean faith and knowledge. Each, according to its fashion, draws on ancient sources, but it is evident that certain chapters here and there are based on the same texts and thus are mutually illuminating.

The earlier of the two, the “Selections of Zātspram”, is presented as a conglomerate of several points separated by colophons and headings.

“ZĀTSPRAM” AND “BUNDAHIŚN”

Yet it forms an harmonious whole and is pleasing stylistically. The writer was the brother of Manuščihr, an important author, mentioned earlier; the brothers squabbled about points of ritual. Both may be placed in the reign of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813-33). Nothing in Zātspram's writings throws any light on the contemporary political or religious situation; his teaching is wholly traditional. The work is divided into four parts: (1) cosmogony and cosmology, concise and unrepetitive; (2) the life of Zoroaster, less comprehensive though more explicit than that in Book VII of the *Dēnkart*; (3) several chapters on the psychology of man and on the human condition; (4) two long eschatological chapters, to be discussed later. Altogether it is an outline of the history of the cosmos from the beginning until the Transfiguration, with a description of the world's great entities, and notably of man, from the time of Ahriman's first onslaught on Ohrmazd, leading to the creation of the cosmic machine that will definitively expel the adversary. In the middle of this history there is the coming of the Religion to Zoroaster.

Some of the sources are explicitly given: the Gatha 31 (in 9.6); the *Dāmdāt* Nask (in 3.43 and 3.57); the *Spand* Nask (in 35.18); a certain book of the Religion, the work of the Ancients, mentioned only here (in 4.8); and finally, a book about the explanation of the ceremony of the Yasna (in 6.1); but other Avestan texts are discernible behind their translations. Events are ordered in accordance with astrological signs little more than hinted at.

The *Bundahiśn* (“Original Creation”) was first known in Europe in its short recension, much inferior to the long recension, which was not published until 1908; it is also known as *Zand-ākāshih* (“Knowledge of the Zand”), a title suggested by one of the initial sentences. The plan of the work is set out at the beginning: the opposition of the two first principles; the nature of the creatures of the *gētik* from the beginning until the Eschatological Body; the things that are in the world. But the book is chaotic and, particularly where cosmology is concerned, a mass of repetitions. The author reveals his name in the penultimate chapter which gives a valuable genealogy of the mobeds: he appears to have been a certain Farnbag, called Dātakīh (?), of a family to which other famous mobeds belonged, such as Zātspram and Ēmet i Ašavahištān. A final appendix reviews the great divisions of the history, declaring that the book was written in A.Y. 447 (A.D. 1098), to which a copyist added the date A.Y. 527 (A.D. 1178).

When considering this plan, which is very near to that of Zātspram,

one is struck by the absence of the Legend of Zoroaster. This is difficult to explain except, perhaps, on the supposition that, while the author expanded on his predecessor's work where he saw reason for doing so, in the case of the Legend, he found himself anticipated by the author of Book VII of the *Dēnkart*. But this is only a working hypothesis.

The first chapter has no heading. It begins by outlining the nature and situation of the two primordial adversaries and the attraction which the good creation while still in the spiritual (*mēnōk*) state, that is, before its corporeal realization, would exercise on Ahriman. Ohrmazd, with a presentiment of Ahriman's aggressive designs, offers him a pact of peace. When the latter refuses, Ohrmazd's only course is to prepare creation for a struggle and to regulate time so that its course will assure his victory. While Ahriman is unaware that the outcome of the struggle will be his elimination, Ohrmazd knows that he will defeat the demon more surely by giving him respite and by securing the collaboration of the creatures. He utters the Ahuna Varya (Ahunavar) prayer of transcendent efficacy, which with its three verses symbolizes the three dimensions of time, and with its twenty-one words the whole of the Avesta. There follows a new stage of creation which transfers the *mēnōk* into the *gētik*, producing the *gētik* proper, the corporeal world, where fresh struggles take place against the various realms of creation within the framework of astrological situations, giving rise to a celebrated chapter on the *thema mundi*.

The relatively numerous chapters or paragraphs dealing with astrology explain and illustrate the doctrine according to which the sky, which embraces the world, prevents the maleficent luminaries, notably the planets, from propagating their malice, while time, regulated by Ohrmazd, assures success by favourable conjunctions.

It then goes on to extremely detailed descriptions of the material world: luminaries, countries, mountains, seas, rivers, lakes, animals, and finally, man with his origin and the attendant myths of civilization. There follow chapters on what is of service to man: women, birds, vegetables. Chapter 17 indicates the "chieftains" (*rāts*) of the various species of being. Then come chapters on the Fires of Mazdaism, and sleep, followed by cosmography: winds, clouds, rain. The list of maleficent beings precedes that of the beings who oppose them. Two long chapters give a complete inventory of the pantheon and the pandemonium: the great gods head the groups lending a certain, if factitious, coherence to the whole. There is more method in the system

“ZĀTSPRAM” AND “BUNDABIŠN”

of oppositions between gods and demons. Chapter 28 is concerned with the conception of microcosmic man. Translated in 1923 by A. Goetze,¹ who saw in it a characteristically Iranian conception that had penetrated into Greece very early, exercising a decisive influence on the *De Hebdomadibus* of the Pseudo-Hippocrates, the chapter continues to be the subject of heated discussion. It is probable that the Greek doctors summoned to Darius' court were able to bring back from Iran doctrines unfamiliar to their own country; and indeed, the *De Hebdomadibus* stands out as an anomaly in its time. But all the Iranian texts on this theme are late, as too was its dissemination among Jewish and among Syriac-speaking Christian societies, which gives reason to believe that the theory, as expounded here, is of no great age.

Chapter 29 reverts to geography, as does chapter 31, which is a replica of chapter 1 of the *Vidēvdat*, while chapter 32 deals with the buildings constructed by the heroes of the Kayanian dynasty. Chapters 30 and 34 are on the subject of individual and universal eschatology, and will be discussed later. With chapter 35 we return to the succession of mythical and historical kings of Iran, and this is followed by a genealogy of the great mobed families, which is probably authentic but remains somewhat obscure, since no dates are given, and the majority of the mobeds bear the names of their grandfathers. The book ends with a survey of the history of the world within the framework of astrology.

The fact that both books open with an account of the primordial struggle has given rise to a theory, not devoid of support, that here, blended with orthodox doctrine, is a current of “Zurvanite” thought, according to which time is a sort of “great god” superior to Ohrmazd and Ahriman, just as in the well-known myth, current during the Sasanian period, but explicitly rejected by Mazdeans.² The antiquity of the myth that sees the two gods, the creators of the good and evil worlds, as the twin sons of Zurvān, is arguable. The recurrence of traces of this doctrine in the *Bundabišn* and the “Selections of Zātspram” is more than a little doubtful, and the exegesis of the texts in question would seem to permit of a much simpler interpretation.³

It is evident, then, that the *Bundabišn* is a work of no great originality, since its opening has been virtually borrowed from Zātspram and the

¹ “Persische Weisheit im griechischen Gewande”, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* II (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 60ff. ² See particularly Zachner, *Zurvan*.

³ See also pp. 898 ff., 975 on the Zurvanite current in Zoroastrianism. Ed.

ZOROASTRIAN PAHLAVI WRITINGS

additions contribute nothing that is essential; but it has many fragments of myth combined notably with authentic geography and with a cosmography whose scope is without equal in any of the later works, which are more concerned with religious philosophy.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL GENRE

The apocalyptic eschatological genre is represented in Pahlavī literature by two independent works: the *Zand i Vohuman Yašt*, of which mention has already been made in connection with the translations of the Avesta, and the *Ayātkār i Zāmāspik*. In addition, there are important chapters which form part of the “Selections of Zātspram”, the *Bundahišn* and the Pahlavī *Rivāyat*. The major part derives from these writings, traces of which are also discernible in the summaries of the Nasks.

The *Ayātkār i Zāmāspik* is presented in the form of a series of dialogues between King Vištāp and his minister Jāmāsp (already known from the Gāthās), who is reputedly Zartušt’s successor and the receptacle of his spiritual gifts, notably omniscience and prophetic spirit. When questioned by the king on the beginnings of human kind, the sage reviews the succeeding generations, starting with Gayōmart, a series of traditional stories with some variants, their background being the same as that upon which the *Shāh-nāma* was to be based. The description of the other races of the known world discloses the mythical races, to which Pliny alludes, as also the peoples of Māzandarān, and the Turks of very recent history. There follows a list of the kings of the Sasanian dynasty, the book being indubitably later than these. It ends with a chapter of great importance to the history of apocalyptic ideas and their revival in the first centuries after Christ: this is an enumeration of the disorders and upheavals that will afflict humanity at the end of time. Next, a more specifically Mazdean development recalls the victories of those gods – among them Mihr, Srōš, Rašn, Neryosang – and heroes who play a more properly eschatological rôle. Among the latter are Pešōtan, Kai Khusrau, Keresāsp and, most important, the three champions of the successive eras, Ōšētar, Ōsetarmāh and, lastly, Sōšyāns, who brings about the Transfiguration, the *fraškart*, and purifies the world for all time.

All this information is found in chapters 33 and 24 of Zātspram, chapter 48 of the Pahlavī *Rivāyat*, chapter 62 of the *Mēnōg i Xrat*, the second part of the short writing *Māh Fravartīn, rōč Hordāt*, questions 35 and 98 in the *Dātistān i Dēnīk*, and chapters 34 and 35 of the *Bundahišn*,

ESCHATOLOGICAL GENRE

all of which derive, through the *Zand i Vohuman Yašt*, from the chapters of the *Spand* Nask, summarized in the *Dēnkart* VIII. 14, and in the *Sūtkar* Nask (*ibid.* IX. 14, 20, 22). This very copious material was undoubtedly disseminated wherever the influence of Mazdean magi made itself felt; traces recur in the “Oracles of Hystaspes” quoted on several occasions in the *Divinae Institutiones*, a writing by the Christian Lactantius, and even in certain earlier authors such as Justinian and Clement. The oldest eschatological current is associated with the legend of Vištāsp and Jāmāsp and, if one may venture a hypothesis that has been confirmed in the case of a much later Indian book, it could be said that through all this literature there runs a theme parallel to that which, in India, produced the Puranas: an outline of the future, divided into long periods each ushered in by a renewal, a re-ordering of the world under the impulse of one of Zartušt’s posthumous descendants, of whom the last will be truly the world’s final and definitive saviour; for, contrary to the Indian outline, the time of the world does not recur. These last stages are marked by sacrifices that are the counterpart of the creative sacrifice.

It is hardly surprising that these writings should have formed the framework to very late “prophecies” on the Mazdak heresy, the Turkish invasions and even those of the Arabs. Such a system of interpolation is found elsewhere at precisely the same time.

The success of this eschatological literature and its survival among Mazdean minorities is attested by the popularity of the *Zāmāspīk*, widely disseminated in Persian translation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The abbreviations used in the bibliographies and footnotes are listed below.

AA *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts) (Berlin)

AAWG *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Göttingen)

AAntASH *Acta antiqua academie scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest)

AArchASH *Acta archaeologica academie scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest)

AB *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels)

Acta Iranica *Acta Iranica* (encyclopédie permanente des études iraniennes) (Tehran–Liège–Leiden)

Aevum *Aevum* (Rassegna di Scienze Storiche Linguistiche e Filologiche) (Milan)

AGWG *Abhandlungen der (königlichen) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Berlin)

AI *Ars Islamica = Ars Orientalis* (Ann Arbor, Mich.)

AION *Annali: Istituto Orientale di Napoli* (s.l. sezione linguistica; n.s. new series) (Naples)

AJSLL *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* (Chicago)

AKM *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Leipzig)

AMI *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* (old ser'es 9 vols 1929–38; new series 1968–) (Berlin)

Anatolia *Anatolia* (revue annuelle d'archéologie) (Ankara)

ANS American Numismatic Society

ANSMN *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* (New York)

ANSNNM American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs (New York)

ANSNS American Numismatic Society Numismatic Studies (New York)

Antiquity *Antiquity* (a periodical review of archaeology edited by Glyn Daniel) (Cambridge)

AO *Acta Orientalia* (ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica Norvegica Svedica) (Copenhagen)

AOAW *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)

AOH *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest)

APAW *Abhandlungen der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Berlin)

Apollo *Apollo* (The magazine of the arts) (London)

ArOr *Archiv Orientální* (Quarterly Journal of African, Asian and Latin American Studies) (Prague)

Artibus Asiae *Artibus Asiae* (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) (Dresden, Ascona)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

<i>Asia Major</i>	<i>Asia Major</i> (a journal devoted to the study of the languages, arts and civilizations of the Far East and Central Asia) old series, 11 vols (Leipzig, 1923–35); (a British journal of Far Eastern studies) new series, 19 vols (London, 1949–75)
<i>ASIR</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of India</i> . Reports made during the years 1862– by Alexander Cunningham, 23 vols. Simla–Calcutta, 1871–87.
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> (Baltimore, Maryland)
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> (Athens–Paris)
<i>BCMA</i>	<i>The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art</i> (Cleveland, Ohio)
<i>BEFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient</i> (Hanoi–Paris)
<i>Berytus</i>	<i>Berytus</i> (archaeological studies published by the Museum of Archaeology and the American University of Beirut) (Copenhagen)
<i>BMQ</i>	<i>British Museum Quarterly</i> (London)
<i>BSO(A)S</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies</i> (University of London)
<i>Byzantion</i>	<i>Byzantion</i> (Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines) (Brussels)
<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 12 vols; 1st edition 1924–39 (Cambridge) (Revised edition 1970–)
<i>Caucasica</i>	<i>Caucasica</i> (Zeitschrift für die Erforschung der Sprachen und Kulturen des Kaukasus und Armeniens) 10 fascs (Leipzig, 1924–34)
<i>CII</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> (Oxford)
<i>CIr</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum</i> (London)
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l' Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres</i> (Paris)
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> (Paris, Louvain)
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> (Vienna)
<i>DOAW</i>	<i>Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
<i>East and West</i>	<i>East and West</i> (Quarterly published by the Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Orient) (Rome)
<i>EI</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> (Calcutta)
<i>Eos</i>	<i>Eos</i> (Commentarii Societatis Philologae Polonorum) (Bratislava–Warsaw)
<i>EPRO</i>	Études préliminaries aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain (Leiden)
<i>Eranos</i>	<i>Eranos</i> (Acta Philologica Suecana) (Uppsala)
<i>ERE</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics</i> , ed. James Hastings, 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1908–21)
<i>GCS</i>	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig, Berlin)
<i>Georgica</i>	<i>Georgica</i> (a journal of Georgian and Caucasian studies) nos. 1–5 (London, 1935–7)
<i>GJ</i>	<i>The Geographical Journal</i> (London)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

<i>Gnomon</i>	<i>Gnomon</i> (Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft) (Munich)
<i>Hellenica</i>	<i>Hellenica</i> (recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques) (Paris)
<i>Historia</i>	<i>Historia</i> (Journal of Ancient History) (Wiesbaden)
<i>HJAS</i>	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i> (Cambridge, Mass.)
<i>HO</i>	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i> , ed. B. Spuler (Leiden-Cologne)
<i>HOS</i>	<i>Harvard Oriental Series</i> (Cambridge, Mass.)
<i>IA</i>	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i> (Leiden)
<i>IIJ</i>	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i> (The Hague)
<i>IndAnt</i>	<i>The Indian Antiquary</i> , 62 vols (Bombay, 1872-1933)
<i>Iran</i>	<i>Iran</i> (journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies) (London-Tehran)
<i>Iraq</i>	<i>Iraq</i> (journal of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq) (London)
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> (Paris)
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> (New York)
<i>JASB</i>	<i>Journal (and proceedings) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> (Calcutta)
<i>JASBB</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society Bombay Branch</i> (Bombay)
<i>JCOI</i>	<i>Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute</i> , 29 vols (Bombay, 1922-35)
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> (New Haven, Conn.)
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i> (Leiden)
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> (London)
<i>JMBRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> (Singapore)
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> (Chicago)
<i>JNSI</i>	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i> (Bombay)
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> (London)
<i>JRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i> (London)
<i>Kairos</i>	<i>Kairos</i> (Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie) (Salzburg)
<i>Klio</i>	<i>Klio</i> (Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte) (Berlin)
<i>Kuml</i>	<i>Kuml</i> (Aarbog for Jysk Arkeologisk Selskab) (Aarhus)
<i>KSIIMK</i>	<i>Kratkie soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevyykh issledovaniyakh Instituta istorii materialnoi kultury AN SSR</i> (Moscow)
<i>KZ</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung</i> , begründet von Adalbert Kubn (Göttingen)
<i>LCL</i>	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
<i>MDAFA</i>	Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (Paris)
<i>Mesopotamia</i>	<i>Mesopotamia</i> (Rivista di Archeologia, Faculta di Littere e filosofia) (University of Turin)
<i>MMAB</i>	<i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i> (old series 1905-42; new series 1942-) (New York)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

<i>MMP</i>	<i>Monuments et Mémoires</i> (publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres) (Fondation Eugène Piot, Paris)
<i>Le Muséon</i>	<i>Le Muséon</i> (Revue d'Études Orientales) (Louvain-Paris)
<i>Museum</i>	<i>Museum</i> (art magazine edited by the Tokyo National Museum) (Tokyo)
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> (London)
<i>NGWG</i>	<i>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> (Göttingen)
<i>Numismatica</i>	<i>Numismatica</i> (Rome)
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalische Literaturzeitung</i> (Berlin-Leipzig)
<i>Oriens</i>	<i>Oriens</i> (journal of the International Society for Oriental Research) (Leiden)
<i>Orientalia</i>	<i>Orientalia</i> (a quarterly published by the Faculty of Ancient Oriental Studies, Pontifical Biblical Institute) new series (Rome)
<i>Pauly</i>	<i>Pauly</i> , A. <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (ed. G. Wissowa) (Stuttgart, 1894-)
<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i> (London)
<i>Philologus</i>	<i>Philologus</i> (Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum) (Stolberg, etc., now Berlin)
<i>PO</i>	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> (ed. R. Gaffin and F. Nau) (Paris)
<i>RAA</i>	<i>Revue des arts asiatiques</i> (Paris)
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum</i> (ed. T. Klauser) (Stuttgart, 1950-)
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études arménienes</i> , nouvelle série (Paris)
<i>Religion</i>	<i>Religion</i> (A Journal of Religion and Religions) (Newcastle upon Tyne)
<i>RGG</i>	<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , 2nd ed., 6 vols (Tübingen, 1927-32); 3rd ed., 7 vols (Tübingen, 1957-65)
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i> (Paris)
<i>RIN</i>	<i>Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini</i> (Milan)
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique</i> (Paris)
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i> (Rome)
<i>Saeculum</i>	<i>Saeculum</i> (Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte) (Freiburg-Munich)
<i>SBE</i>	<i>Sacred Books of the East</i> (Oxford)
<i>SCBO</i>	<i>Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis</i> (Oxford)
<i>Semitica</i>	<i>Semitica</i> (Cahiers publiés par l'Institut d'Études Sémitiques de l'Université de Paris) (Paris)
<i>SHAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Heidelberg)
<i>SPA</i>	<i>A Survey of Persian Art</i> , ed. A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, 6 vols (Text pp. 1-2817) (Oxford-London-New York, 1938-39); repr. 12 vols (Tokyo, 1964-65); no vol. XIII; vol. XIV <i>New Studies 1938-1960</i> (Text pp. 2879-3205) (Oxford-London, 1967); vol. XV <i>Bibliography of Pre-Islamic Persian Art to 1938</i> (cols 1-340), Reprint of <i>Index to Text Volumes I-III (i-vi)</i>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

<i>SPA</i> (cont.)	(pp. 1–63) (Ashiya, Japan, 1977); vol. xvi <i>Bibliography of Islamic Persian Art to 1938</i> (cols 341–854) (Ashiya, 1977); vol. xvii <i>New Studies 1960–1973. In Memoriam Arthur Upham Pope, Part I Pre-Islamic Studies</i> (pp. 3207–3717) (not yet published); vol. xviii <i>New Studies 1960–1973..., Part II Islamic Architecture</i> (not yet published); vol. xix <i>New Studies 1960–1973..., Part III Islamic Art</i> (not yet published). References are given to page numbers only.
<i>SPAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Berlin)
<i>StIr</i>	<i>Studia Iranica</i> (Leiden)
<i>Sumer</i>	<i>Sumer</i> (journal of archaeology and history in Iraq) (Baghdad)
<i>SWAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Wiener (Österreichischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
<i>Syria</i>	<i>Syria</i> (Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie) (Paris)
<i>TITAKE</i>	<i>Trudi Izuchno-Turkmenistanskoi Archeologicheskoi Kimplexnoi Ekspeditsii</i> , 6 vols (Moscow, 1949–58)
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et mémoires</i> (Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance) (Paris)
<i>T'oung Pao</i>	<i>T'oung Pao</i> (Archives concernant l'histoire, les langues, la géographie, l'ethnographie et les arts de l'Asie orientale) (Leiden)
<i>TPS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i> (London)
<i>VDI</i>	<i>Vestnik drevnei istorii</i> (Moscow)
<i>WVDOG</i>	<i>Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i> (Leipzig)
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> (Vienna)
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i> (New Haven, Conn.)
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i> (Berlin)
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>ZN</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i> (Berlin)

The following frequently quoted works are given in an abbreviated form marked with an asterisk

Christensen, A. *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed. Copenhagen–Paris, 1944 (Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études 48).

Diakonoff, I. M. and Livshits, V. A. *Dokumenty iz Nisy I v. do n.e. Predvartelnye itogi raboti* (Documents from Nisā of the 1st century B.C. Preliminary summary of the work). Moscow, 1960.

“Parfianskoje tsarskoje chozajstvo v Nise”, *VDI* 1960.2, pp. 14–38.

“Novye nakhodki dokumentov v staroi Nise” (New kinds of documents at old Nisa), in *Perekneaziatskii Sbornik* II (Near Eastern Symposium no. II) (Moscow, 1966), pp. 135–57 (English summary, pp. 169–73).

Parthian economic documents from Nisā, ed. by D. N. MacKenzie, Plates I (London, 1976), Plates II (London, 1977), Texts I, pp. 1–80 (*CIr*, Part II, Vol. II).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Firdausī. *Shāh-nāma*, Beroukhim edition, 10 vols. Tehran, 1313/1934–1315/1936. Gives corresponding page numbers in the editions of Turner Macan (4 vols, Calcutta, 1829) and J. Mohl (text and French translation, 7 vols, Paris, 1838–78).

Moscow edition, 9 vols. 1963–71.

Mohl's French translation printed separately, 7 vols. Paris, 1876–8.

English translation A. G. and E. Warner, 9 vols. London, 1905–25 (Trubner's Oriental Series).

Abridged English translation R. Levy, *The Epic of the Kings*. London, 1967 (Persian Heritage Series).

Ghirshman, R. *Iran. Parthians and Sassanians*. London, 1962 (American edition is entitled *Persian Art 249 B.C.–A.D. 651*).

Henning, W. B. "Mitteliranisch", in *Iranistik* 1, *Linguistik* (Leiden, 1958), pp. 20–130 (HO 1. IV. 1).

Hill, G. F. *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*. London, 1922 (Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum).

Le Rider, G. *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes*. Paris, 1965 (Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Iran 38).

Maricq, A. "Classica et Orientalia 5, Res Gestae Divi Saporis", *Syria* xxxv (1958), pp. 295–360; reprinted with revisions in *Classica et Orientalia, extrait de Syria 1955–62* (Paris, 1965), pp. 37–101 (Publication hors série 11).

Nöldeke, T. (tr.) *Tabari = Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari*. Leiden, 1879.

West, E. W. *Pahlavi texts*, 5 vols. Oxford, 1880–97. Repr. Patna, 1965 (SBE 5, 18, 24, 37, 47).

Wroth, W. W. *The Catalogue of the coins of Parthia*. London, 1903 (Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Salemann, C. *Manichaeische Studien* I. St. Petersburg, 1908 (Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, VIII^e série, vol. VIII, no. 10).

“Manichaica IV”, *Bulletin de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* VI^e série, vol. VI (1912), pp. 33–50.

Sundermann, W. “Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-manichäischen Literatur”, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* XIV. 3 (Berlin, 1968), pp. 386–405.

“Zur frühen missionarischen Wirksamkeit Manis”, *AOH* XXIV (1971), pp. 79–125.

“Weiteres zur frühen missionarischen Wirksamkeit Manis”, *ibid.*, pp. 371–9.

Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabertexte der Manichäer. Berlin, 1973 (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients 8. Berliner Turfantexte 4).

“Iranische Lebensbeschreibungen Manis”, *AO* XXXVI (1974), pp. 125–49.

Waldschmidt, E. and Lentz, W. “Manichaeische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten”, *SPAW* 1933, pp. 480–607.

CHAPTER 32(a)

The footnotes to this chapter were written by P. Gignoux and the bibliography is based on a rough draft supplied by him.

1. General studies

Boyce, M. “Middle Persian Literature” in *Iranistik* II, *Literatur* I (Leiden, 1968), pp. 31–66 (*HO* I. IV. 2. 1); with full bibliography up to date.

de Menasce, J. “Dix ans d'études pehlevies: publication de textes”, *StIr* I (1972), pp. 133–9.

Pagliaro, A. “La civiltà sasanidica e i suoi riflessi in Occidente”, in *La Persia nel Medioevo* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1971), pp. 19–35.

Tavadia, J. C. *Die mittelpersische Sprache und Literatur der Zarathustrier*, ed. H. Junker. Leipzig, 1956 (with full bibliography up to date; the work is posthumous and the editing could have been more careful).

West, E. W. “Pahlavi literature” in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1896–1904), vol. II, pp. 75–129. (Most of the important texts were then still unpublished, but West had access to all the MSS, on which he gives full details).

2. Collections of texts

Antia, E. K. (ed.) *Pazand Texts*. Bombay, 1909.

Codices Avestici et Pahlavici bibliothecae universitatis Hafniensis, ed. A. Christensen, 12 vols. Copenhagen, 1931–44.

Jamāsp-Asānā, J. M. (ed.) *Pahlavi Texts contained in the codex MK*, pt. I (pp. 1–48), Bombay, 1897; pt. II (pp. 49–170), Bombay, 1913.

Nyberg, H. S. *A Manual of Pahlavi*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden, 1964–74.

English translations: *West, *Pahlavi Texts*.

CHAPTER 32(a)

3. *Pahlavi texts translated from or related to the Avesta*

Pahlavi Yasna and Visperad, ed. B. N. Dhabhar. Bombay, 1949 (Pahlavi Text Series 8).

Vidēvdatā

Vendidad, *Avesta text with Pahlavi translation and commentary, and glossarial index*, ed. H. Jamasp. Bombay, 1907.

Pahlavi Vendidad, transliteration and translation into English by B. T. Anklesaria, edited by D. D. Kapadia. Bombay, 1949.

Zand i Khurtak Avistāk

Text ed. B. N. Dhabhar (Bombay, 1927); tr. B. N. Dhabhar (Bombay, 1963).

Ērpatistān and Nirangistān

Aērpatistān and Nirangistān, ed. P. Sanjana (Bombay, 1894); tr. S. J. Bulsara (Bombay, 1915).

Nirangistān, selected portions with German tr. A. Waag. Leipzig, 1941.

Zand i Vohuman Yašt

Zand i Vohuman Yasn, ed. and tr. B. T. Anklesaria. Bombay, 1957.

The Bahman Yašt, tr. *West in *Pahlavi Texts I*, pp. 189–235.

Aogemadaētā

Ed. with German translation by W. Geiger (Erlangen, 1878); ed. and tr. K. M. D. Jamasp-Asa as D. Phil. dissertation for Bombay University, 1966.

Dēnkart

The Pahlavi Dinkard, ed. D. M. Madan, 2 vols (pt I, books III–V, pp. 1–470; pt II, books VI–IX, pp. 473–953). Bombay, 1911.

Dēnkart, ed. M. J. Dresden. Wiesbaden, 1966.

Book III: tr. J. de. Menasce as *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart*. Paris, 1973 (Travaux de l'institut d'études iraniennes de l'Université de Paris, 5; Bibliothèque des œuvres classiques persanes, 4).

Book VI: ed., tr. and annotated by S. Shaked as *Wisdom of Sasanian Sages*. Boulder, Colorado, 1979 (Persian Heritage Series 34).

Books V and VII: tr. M. Molé as *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes Pehlevis*. Paris, 1967 (Travaux de l'institut d'études iraniennes de l'Université de Paris, 3).

Books VII and V: tr. *West in *Pahlavi Texts V*, pp. 3–130 as *Marvels of Zoroastrianism*.

Books VIII and IX and parts of III and IV: tr. *West in *Pahlavi Texts IV* as *Contents of the Nasks*.

de Menasce, J. *Une encyclopédie mazdénienne, le Dēnkart*. Paris, 1958.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bundahišn or *Zand-ākāsib* ("Knowledge of the Zand")

THE "IRANIAN BUNDAHIŠN"

The Bāndahishn: being a facsimile of the TD manuscript no. 2, ed. T. D. Anklesaria. Bombay, 1908 (Pahlavi Text Series 3).

The Bondahesh, being a facsimile edition of the MS TD₁. Tehran, c 1970 (Iranian Culture Foundation Publications 88).

The Codex DH, being a facsimile edition of Bondahesh, Zand-e Vohuman Yasht, and parts of Denkard, Tehran, c 1970 (Iranian Culture Foundation Publications 89).

Zand-Ākāsib; Iranian or Greater Bundahišn, transliteration and English translation by B. T. Anklesaria. Bombay, 1956.

Bahār, Mihrdād. *Glossary of Pahlavi Bundahish (Vāzha-nāma-yi Bundahish)*. Tehran, 1345/1966 (Iranian Culture Foundation Publications 17).

THE "INDIAN BUNDAHIŠN"

Der Bundebehesh, ed. and tr. F. Justi. Leipzig, 1868.

The Bundahiš, tr. *West in *Pahlavi Texts I*, pp. 1-187.

Pursišnihā

Jamasp-Asa, K. M. and Humbach, H. *Pursišnihā, a Zoroastrian catechism*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden, 1971.

Šāyast nē-šāyast

Ed. and tr. J. C. Tavadia. Hamburg, 1930.

Šāyast lā-shāyast, tr. *West in *Pahlavi Texts I*, pp. 237-406.

The supplementary texts to the Šāyest nē-šāyest, ed. and tr. F. M. P. Kotwal. Copenhagen, 1969.

Artā Virāf Nāmak

Codices Avestici et Pahlavici II.

The Book of Ardā-Virāf together with *Gōsht-i Fryānō* and *Hādōkht Nask*, ed. and tr. H. J. Asa and M. Haug. London-Bombay, 1872.

Arda Viraf Nameh, ed. J. Jamasp-Asa. Bombay, 1902.

Ardāvirāf-Nāmak, ed. R. 'Afifi. Mashhad, 1342.

Das Artā Virāz Nāmak, critical edition and German translation by G. Gobrecht. Dissertation, Berlin, 1965.

Yavišt i Fryān: see *The Book of Ardā-Virāf* together with *Gōsht-i Fryānō*.

4. *Andarz (Wisdom) literature*

Ōšnar

Andarj-i Aoshnar-i Dānāk, ed. B. N. Dhabhar. Bombay, 1913.

Pahlavi Andarz-Namak, tr. J. C. Tarapore *et al.* Bombay, 1933.

Mēnōk i Xrat

Pahlavi text in *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici V*.

The Dīnā i Maīnū i Khrat, Pahlavi text ed. P. Sanjana. Bombay, 1895.

CHAPTER 32(a)

Mainyō-i-Khard, Pazand and Sanskrit texts in transliteration, ed. and tr. E. W. West. Stuttgart-London, 1871.

Dānāk-u Mainyō-i Khard, Pahlavi, Pazand and Sanskrit texts, ed. T. D. Anklesaria. Bombay, 1913.

Dīnāt Māinōg-i Khirad, tr. *West in *Pahlavi Texts* III, pp. 1-113.

Husrav ut rētak ("Khusrau and the page")

Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, pp. 27-38.

King Husrav and his Boy, ed. and tr. J. M. Unvala. Paris, 1921.

Pus i dānišn-kāmak ("The son avid of knowledge")

Ed. and German translation by H. F. J. Junker as *Der wissbegierige Sohn*, with commentary in English by J. C. Tavadia. Leipzig, 1959 (Iranische Texte und Hilfsbücher, 3).

Vičārišn i čatrang

Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, pp. 115-20.

Vijārišn i Chatrang, tr. J. C. Tarapore. Bombay, 1932.

"Il testo pahlavico sul giuoco degli scacchi", ed. with Italian translation by A. Pagliaro in *Miscellanea G. Galbiati* III (Milan, 1951), pp. 97-110 (Fontes Ambrosiani 27).

Sūr saxvan

Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, pp. 155-9.

Ed. and tr. J. C. Tavadia in *JCOI* xxix (Bombay 1935), pp. 1-99.

Tansar-nāma

"Lettre de Tansar", Persian text and French translation by J. Darmesteter, JA 1894, pp. 185-250 and 502-55.

Nāma-yi Tansar, ed. M. Minuvi. Tehran, 1932; 2nd edition, Tehran, 1975.

The Letter of Tansar, tr. M. Boyce. Rome, 1968 (Rome Oriental Series, 38).

Jāvīdān Xirad

Miskawaih, Abū 'Alī Ahmad b. Muḥammad. *al-Hikmat al-khālida: Jāvīdān Khirad*, ed. A. Badawi. Cairo, 1952.

"The testament of Ardašir Pāpakān"

'Abd Ardašir, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās. Beirut, 1387/1967.

Grignaschi, M. "Quelques spécimens de la littérature sassanide", JA 1966, pp. 1-142, including other Arabic translations of *Andarz*.

Advēnak i Nipēsišnīh

Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, pp. 132-40.

"Nāmak-nipēsišnīh", transliterated and translated by R. C. Zaehner, BSOS IX (1937), pp. 93-109.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andarz i Kōtakān or Xwēškārīh i rēdagān

Antia, *Pazand Texts*, p. 73.

Ed. and trans. H. J. F. Junker as "Ein mittelpersisches Schulgespräch", *SHAW* 1912.15.

Ed. and trans. A. Freiman in *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1918), pp. 482-9.

Vīčitakīhā i Zātspram ("Selections of Zātspram")

English translation of chapters i-xi in *West, *Pahlavi Texts* I, pp. 153-87; chapters xii-xxiv in *ibid.* V, pp. 133-70.

Codices Avestici et Pahlavici IV.

Vichitakiha-i Zatsparam, text with introduction by B. T. Anklesaria. Bombay, 1964.

Rivāyat

The Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādistān i Dīnik ed. B. N. Dhabhar. Bombay, 1913 (Pahlavi Text Series 2).

Codices Avestici et Pahlavici III.

*West, *Pahlavi Texts* II, pp. 415ff.

Ed. and trans. H. K. Mirza. Ph.D. dissertation. London, 1944.

5. Secular literature

Kārnāmak i Ardašīr i Pāpakān

Ed. and trans. D. P. Sanjana. Bombay, 1896.

Ed. E. K. Antia. Bombay, 1900.

Trans. T. Nöldeke in *Berzzenberger's Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* IV (Göttingen, 1879), pp. 22-69.

Text and Persian translation by M. J. Mashkoor. Tehran, 1950

Text and Persian translation by B. Farahvashi. Tehran, 1975 (University of Tehran Publications, 1999).

Šahrīstānbā i Ērānshahr

Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, pp. 18-24.

Marquart, J. *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr*, ed. G. Messina. Rome, 1931.

Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi* I, pp. 113-17.

Ayādgār i Zarērān ("Memorial of Zarer")

Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, pp. 1-17.

Benveniste, É. "Le Mémorial de Zarer, poème pehlevi mazdéen", *JA* 1932, pp. 245-93.

Trans. J. J. Modi in *Aiyādgār-i Zarērān, Shatrōihā-i Airān and Afdiya va sahīgya-i Sīstān*. Bombay, 1899.

CHAPTER 32(a)

Abdihā i Sīstān (“Miracles of Sistan”)

Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, pp. 25–6.

trans. J. J. Modi in *Aiyadgar-i Zareran Shatroiha-i Airan, and Afdiya va sahigiyā-i Sistan*. Bombay, 1899.

West, E. W. “Wonders of Sagastan”, *JAO* xxxvi (1917), pp. 115–21.

Māh Fravartīn rōc Ohrmazd

Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, pp. 102–8.

Jamasp-Asana, K. J. “The day Khordād of the month Farvardin commonly called Khordādsāl: translated from the original Pahlavi text”, in J. J. Modi (ed.), *The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1900), pp. 122–9.

Marquart, J. “Das Nauruz”, in *Dr Modi Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1930), pp. 709–658.

Mātigān i hāzār dātistān

J. J. Modi, *Mādīgān-i Hāzār Dātistān* (folios 1–55). Bombay, 1901.

Anklesaria, T. D. *The Social Code of the Parsees in Sasanian Times or the Mādīgān-i Hāzār Dātistān II* (folios 74–91). Bombay, 1912.

Russian translation A. G. Perikhanian as *Sasanidskij Sudebnik*. Erevan, 1973.

English translation and edition of this work by N. Garsoian is in press (Persian Heritage Series).

C. Bartholomae, “Zum sasanidischen Recht I–V”, *SHAW* 1918.5 (I), 14 (II); 1920.18 (III); 1922.5 (IV); 1923.9 (V).

Patmānak i katak-xwātāyīh (“Contract of the Master of the House”)

Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, pp. 141–3.

Ed. and Russian translation by A. G. Perikhanian in *Sovetskaya Etnografia* 1960.5, pp. 67–75.

Tr. D. N. MacKenzie and A. G. Perikhanian, “The model marriage contract in Pahlavi”, in K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume (Bombay, 1969), pp. 103–12.

Ayātkār i Zāmāspīk

Ed. and English translation by J. J. Modi as *Jāmāspī: Pahlavi, Pāzand and Persian Texts*. Bombay, 1903.

Ed. and Italian translation by G. Messina as *Libro apocalittico persiano, Ayātkār i Zāmāspīk*. Rome, 1939.

Draxt i asūrīg

Brunner, C. J. “The fable of *The Babylonian Tree*”, *JNES* xxxix (1980), pp. 191–202, 291–302.

Henning, W. B. “A Pahlavi poem”, *BSOAS* xiii (1950), pp. 641–8.

Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, pp. 109–14.

Navvābi, M. *Manzūma-yi Draxt-i Asūrīg*. Tehran, 1967 (Iranian Culture Foundation Publications 25).

Unvala, J. M. “Draxt i Asurig”, *BSOS* ii (1921–23), pp. 637–78.

THE CAMBRIDGE
HISTORY OF
IRAN

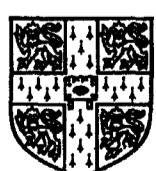
Volume 4

THE PERIOD FROM THE ARAB
INVASION TO THE SALJUQS

edited by

R. N. FRYE

Professor of Iranian, Harvard University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

(New York, 1975)

CHAPTER 17

ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE AFTER THE MUSLIM CONQUEST

In the preceding volume a survey was made of that part of extant Mazdaean literature the content of which could have been known in the Sāsānian era, even though the books were probably or even certainly compiled under Islam. Only those works were excluded which showed obvious signs of contact with Islam, and it is these which are now to be considered.

They were in the first place characterized by a tendency to be explanatory as well as polemical. Their prime object was to set forth the Mazdaean doctrine, whose liturgical texts, however ancient and widespread in usage, were not of a kind to re-establish didactically, still less to defend rationally, that doctrine, which was threatened on all sides. It was a fact that Islam made rapid progress in Iran and even recruited there its principal doctors and upholders, while the number of Mazdaean *mōbads* qualified to resist them steadily declined. Still more regrettable was the growing scarcity of priests necessary for the conduct of services and purifications, by whom alone the liturgy could be maintained, as the axis of the truly religious life, together with custom and law. Preoccupation with this state of affairs was to be expressed not only in the form of casuistry, to deal with the practical problems raised by this diminution of the priesthood, but also by concern to provide the instruction which was lacking. Thereafter this instruction and catechizing seemed to become more explicit and were addressed, at any rate in the writings, to adult persons who were threatened by conversion to Islam, by indifference or at the very least by ignorance. Such instruction was indeed the chief concern of the *mōbads* and explains why they should have written the books and also why they should have been particularly anxious to preserve them when most of the various works of Sāsānian (or post-Sāsānian) Pahlavī literature had disappeared or, as in the case of epic, had been absorbed into Persian literature of an ostensibly Muslim nature. Thus the literature now under consideration is both religious and didactic, and is some-

ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE AFTER THE CONQUEST

times apologetic and polemical. If it presents very few "literary" features, it is at least superior to the literature of the preceding period (and it must be stressed that only what has survived to the present day is under review) in that it reveals the workings of a certain line of thought. Though lacking in aesthetic merit, it is not without interest for the history of philosophical and theological speculation, at the very period when Islamic thought was in full spate. The Mazdaism of the 3rd–4th/9th–10th centuries deserves to be better known not only for itself but also for its contribution to our knowledge of the theoretical tenets opposed to it by Islam.

I. ĀTURFARNBAG I FARRUXZĀTĀN

The first author for consideration is a mōbad named Āturfarnbag i Farruxzātān, of whom it is known that he lived under the 'Abbāsid Caliph Ma'mūn (198/813–218/833) and that he was chief of the Mazdaeans of Fārs. A short work records the disputation to which he was challenged by a Mazdaean convert to Islam who had changed his name from Dādv-Ohrmazd to Wahballāh (usually called Abalīš or Abaleh owing to the ambiguities of Pahlavī script). He had also summoned Jews and Christians to take part in the argument. The Caliph Ma'mūn, as is known, favoured such rhetorical jousts, and an account of this one has been preserved in a document which may well have come from Āturfarnbag himself. In his questions the renegade made an attack on the consequences of dualism: the existence of opposites in the world, fire-worship, the pains of Hell imposed by Ohrmazd, the state of the bodies of infidels after their death, the wearing of the *kūstik*. To each of these questions Āturfarnbag put up a defence and is said to have won the approval of the caliph, which seems very unlikely.

The allusions in the *Dēnkart* to the activities of Āturfarnbag support the belief that he took a major part in the collection of the Avestan texts which had been dispersed at the time of the Muslim conquest and, moreover, that he was the author of an *Advēn nāmak* which was drawn upon by the last editor of the *Dēnkart*. The latter indeed gave the *Dēnkart* its name and took a considerable extract from it for his Book V; it is not impossible that this is the celebrated *Āyīn-nāma* referred to in the *Fibrist* of al-Nadīm and quoted by Ibn Qutaiba. Āturfarnbag is mentioned also in the *Dātistān-i dēnīk*, as an authority on the tariffs of the cult, and in the "Epistles" of Manušcīhr. A series

ĀTURFARNBAG I FARRUXZĀTĀN

of answers given by him, contained in the same manuscript as the *Great Bundahišn* (TD 1), was only published recently. The answers are short and never give a general view of the problems or of the legal principles at play, as is the case with some of the other works we are about to examine. Indeed the greater number are concerned only with very minor points of legal purity and are often repetitious. Some however are interesting as bringing some light on the legislation of marriage and the laws of inheritance, and sometimes apropos of the conversion to Islam of a member of the family. Two answers tell us that next-of-kin marriage was still a living practice; the *xvētōdāt* was even enforced against the will of a sister or daughter, but not without the consent of the husbands. The many cases of defilement owing to contact with an impure person or object seem to show that the laws digested in the *Vidēvdāt* were by way of being forgotten and give sense to the report from the *Dēnkart* that Āturfarnbag had collected the dispersed fragments of the Avesta accessible until that time to an ever-diminishing number of *ērpats* and *mōbads*.

The most important extracts, however, which also come from the *Advēn nāmak*, constitute Book IV of the *Dēnkart*. The book begins with a sort of philosophical exposition of the “procession” of the *Ameša Spenta* in terms reminiscent of Neoplatonism. From the non-created Unity which is at the beginning proceeds Vahuman, the first-created, whose creation is in a way a counterpart to the assault of Ahriman; there is thus already a duality, in consequence of which the coming into being of the other Primordial Creatures is easily explained. Passing on to Šahrevar, who represents the power of arms and the militant aspect of royalty, the author lists the early Sāsānian rulers who played a part in preserving Mazdaean orthodoxy. It seems probable that their decrees are quoted here *verbatim*, the pompous style of such documents being easily recognizable. Proceeding next to the creatures of the *gētī* the author takes the opportunity of dealing very briefly with a large number of theological questions, on which *Dēnkart III* gives more detailed instruction. It is probable that Book IV is not merely a summary of the material contained in Book III, but represents an attempt to build up the theological and philosophical doctrines by which Mazdaean thought had been sustained for several centuries before and after the coming of Islam into a system based upon two main dogmas, of dualism and of creation by a wise and provident God.

II. MANUŠCĪHR-I GOŠN-YAM

This mōbad, a descendant of Āturfarnbag, was chief of the Mazdaeans of Fārs and Kirmān, lived in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, and is known from two very different written sources. The first is a collection of three letters concerning the liturgical controversy in which he opposed his brother Zātspram, mōbad of Sirkān, the inhabitants of which had made a complaint about their priest. He had in fact taught that the purification rite of *baršnum*, which played such an important part in the life of the Mazdaeans, could in general be replaced by a lesser purification. Manušcīhr addressed himself in the first instance to the inhabitants of Sirkān, and his line of argument is to establish the paramount authority of the Avestan text in this matter, maintaining that it was in no way diminished by the variety of opinions between the Mazdaean divines, who very likely had been called in to justify the legality of the innovation made by Zātspram. There are quotations here and there from the corpus of jurisprudence which, as was already known, had long ago been created by jurists and commentators on the Avestan laws. In the second letter, addressed to Zātspram himself, a similar line of defence was employed, insofar as this difficult text can be understood. Manušcīhr (II, ii, 9–12) was concerned to show how an authorized interpretation could, in a particular instance, be supplemented by another interpretation, more apt but equally well authenticated, such as is the case with the differences between Afarg and Mētyōmāh or of Āturfarnbag, Vindāt and Āturbocēt; this argument might be applied to the use which was made simultaneously of the astronomical tables of the Empire (i.e. Iran), of India and of Ptolemy for the purpose of determining the position of the sun, Saturn (Kēvān) or Mars (Varahrān). The epistle continues on a note of severity: Manušcīhr informs his brother that he has already written to the people of Sirkān and that he is sending a decree, Letter no. III, to all the Mazdaeans of Iran forbidding them to follow the practice of Zātspram.

The interest of these documents, whose main purpose is now of little consequence, lies in their disclosure of the functioning of the Mazdaean hierarchy under conditions in which it no longer enjoyed the support of the state. The sustained deferential tone of the letters is in contrast with the dry and somewhat inquisitorial exposition of the religious policy of the first Sāsānids when dealing with “deviations” (*Dēnkart IV*, English tr. by Zaehner, *Zurvān*, pp. 7–9). The solemn and weighty

style of Manušcihr is not at all abusive and he appears to be using his authority only to put the flock of Zātspram on their guard against their leader.

Manušcihr's other work is his *Dātistān-i dēnīk*. In this he discusses many questions which might perhaps have been taken for granted: there was actually, at this period, good reason for recapitulating points of doctrine and of practice which the Mazdaeans were in danger of forgetting. There is no decisive evidence whether this work was written before or after the "Epistles", in spite of the striking differences of style between them – the open letters and proclamation being couched in solemn and meandering prose, while the *Dātistān* is much more clear and direct, doubtless because more impersonal. It is a collection of ninety-one answers to questions put by a certain Mihr-Xvaršēt i Ātur-Māhān and by other unnamed Mazdaeans. After beginning with a preface in a ceremonial style which is very close to that of the "Epistles" it proceeds forthwith to a series of fairly closely related problems, as follows.

Questions 1–3 deal with the "just" man, that is to say, the archetype, not only Gayōmart, the first or primordial man, but also Zartušt, the bringer of Revelation, and his last son, Sōšyans, born posthumously, who closes the cycle of creation and introduces the eschatological transfiguration (*fraškart*). This traditional doctrine, which places Zartušt in the middle of the history of the world, may have been revived in opposition to Islamic speculation on the *Insān al-kāmil*, unless of course the reverse was the case and the Iranian theologoumenon served as a model for the Muslim – a dilemma we often meet. In any case, the purpose of the Perfect Man is, according to the main theme of Mazdaism, the perfect cult of the supremely good God and the struggle against evil; the wisdom which presides over the divine government provides for each period a ruler devout in the Faith. This quest after perfection is not to be without its difficulties (questions 4–6), a fact which serves only to emphasize the militant character of the religion. Questions 8–14 examine the effect of the actions accomplished either by a man himself or by others on his account, depending on whether he has or has not ordered them to be carried out after his death – an important matter in view of the prayers and rites which are required during and after the death of a Mazdean. When the body has been delivered up to dogs and birds of prey for rending, it may be asked whether the soul, which although separated from the body is still close

ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE AFTER THE CONQUEST

to it, can still suffer (questions 15–17). Here it may be noted that dogs are always mentioned as well as birds of prey, which would suggest a practice different from the present, when the body is exposed to the birds alone, the function of the dog being simply to drive away the demons by glancing at the corpse (*sag-dīd*). Question 18 deals with the vision of Ohrmazd and of Ahriman afforded to the dead, and the answer, based on an Avestan text, recalls an ancient myth hitherto attested only in its Manichaean form. Ohrmazd replies to the demand made on him by Zartušt to hold out his hand by telling him to take the hand of Gayōmart – all this takes place in a pre-eternity in which the passing of time is transcended – in return for which he will see him, Ohrmazd, at the resurrection of the body. Thus it will be the impious who will benefit from the apocatastasis, while the just will see God and will rejoice on arrival at the Ohrmazdian existence. The next questions (19–33) deal with the places of the dead and the whole subject of individual eschatology, before proceeding (34–7) to the resurrection of the body.

All these chapters contribute precise details to the study of Mazdaean anthropology and bear witness to the interest taken by the theologian of this period in the nature of bliss in Paradise, a feature which is in contrast with popular works of the Sāsānian period like the “Book of Artā Virāf”, the author of which took a special pleasure in describing the pains of Hell. An argument of great importance is developed in Chapter 36: the offensive in the struggle between Ohrmazd and his creatures on one side and Ahriman and his supporters on the other is to be blamed entirely on Ahriman; the ills for which Ohrmazd is responsible are, strictly speaking, punishments or acts of legitimate defence. It may be noted incidentally that there is no trace of any dispute regarding the perpetuity of the pains of Hell; such controversy was not to arise until later.

Question 38 proceeds to an examination of the liturgy and considers the manifold significance of the sacred girdle of the Mazdaeans, the kūstik, symbolizing at the same time the bondage of man (*bandakīh*) in relation to Ohrmazd and the distinction between the upper and lower parts of the body; the kūstik has as a celestial archetype the Milky Way and the *Dēn* itself. The symbolism of its composition is dealt with in the next question and also the offences connected with it, such as walking without the kūstik and talking while eating. Since the wearing of the kūstik is a Mazdaean characteristic, a discussion is inserted here

on the gravity of the sin of apostasy (question 40) and on the merit of those who strive to prevent it from being committed (question 41). There follow further questions on the *drōn* (question 42) and on sacrifice, *yazīšn* (question 47), and a collection of questions on the relative values of theoretical and practical knowledge for priests, some of them knowing the texts by heart while others are experts on ritual, all of which has an appreciable effect on their stipends (questions 43–6, 65). These questions contain a mine of information on the state of the Mazdaean clergy two centuries after the conquest of Iran by the Arabs. Priests are few, badly-educated, and impoverished, and it is asked what crafts they can practise in order to survive (question 45). There is frequent discussion of their stipends (questions 81–8) and also of the morality of economic transactions, such as buying goods cheaply and selling them dear and, particularly, of doing business with non-Mazdaeans and non-Iranians. (In this category are to be reckoned not only the Arab invaders, whose total numbers were not very great, but also the Semitic populations of the former Iranian Empire, Christians and Jews who had long ago settled in the country.) For a survey of the demography of Iran before Islam or in the early years of the conquest such data are of the greatest interest. They provide the back-drop for a study of the relationship between early Islam and its non-Muslim “subjects” which is too often undertaken merely on the basis of information on countries populated by Jews and Christians, such as Egypt and Syria.

A characteristic feature of this relationship was the maintenance of the personal law of the *abl al-kitāb* and suchlike. To questions 53–61 Manušcihr replies with long dissertations on such essential institutions of Iranian family law as authority over the family (*dūtak-sardārīh*) which, especially if the family possesses property, must never fail and for which provision must be made. Sometimes the state of the family itself may offer a solution, or the head of the family may have decided it for the future, before his death. Public officials may, as a last resort, intervene to designate the person most suitable in the circumstances to be the new *paterfamilias*. A more original institution is that of the *stūrīh*, which is the responsibility given (again in accordance with the customs regulating the devolution of the *sardārīh*) to a person for the administration of property of a certain value, instead of and in place of the *de cūjus*, who has no legitimate or adoptive heir. This system of devolution made it possible to ensure the continuity of the family by preserving

permanently the property designed to maintain it. The subject cannot be discussed further here, though it should be of considerable interest to sociologists and to legal historians. The *Mātigān-i hazār dātistān* mentions it frequently, but provides no substitute for the almost didactic exposition set forth in the *Dātistān-i dēnīk*. Another practice which the Islamic occupation did not abrogate and which was to be found continuing as customary Mazdaean law was consanguineous marriage, *xvētōdāt*, treated in question 64. Questions 71–7 are devoted to sexual offences, particularly paederasty, which is so often referred to in any discussion of Mazdaean morals.

Manušcīhr replies, in irregular order, to questions on various cult observances, *gētī-xrīt*, *zīndak-ruvān*, *hamāk-Dēn* (questions 79, 80, 82) and repeats such expositions of cosmogony as may be read in the *Bundahišn* or the “Selections” of Zātspram: it is what might be called mythological physics, based entirely on tradition, with the exception of question 90 which is very obscure and discusses, in quasi-philosophical terms, the movement of the heavens.

The book ends with a selection of “sayings of the ancients” which recapitulates the beginning of Book VI of the *Dēnkart*. Both texts are somewhat corrupt and serve as correctives to one another. There is no need to assume that either text has borrowed from the other: the aphorisms are clearly of greater antiquity than the two works themselves and it is probable that they formed a thesaurus to which recourse was made as needed. It has already been noted (Vol. 3) that the author of *Šāyast nē šāyast* made use of it in concluding the second part of his book.

III. THE “RIVĀYAT” OF EMĒT I AŠAVAHIŠTAN

The author of this work was Manušcīhr’s nephew. He exercised after him the authority of a mōbad over a large part of southern Iran in the first half of the 4th/10th century. It consists of a small collection of his answers to questions put to him by a certain Ātur-Gušasp i Mihr Ataš i Ātur-Gušasp and deals almost entirely with concrete examples arising out of the position of the Mazdaeans in Iran under Islam. Muslim influence is very much more apparent here than in the *Dātistān-i dēnīk* or in the *Dēnkart* and is shown to interfere with the laws which still govern the Mazdaean community, especially family law and, in particular, the institution of stūrih. The opportunity is taken to explain clearly how it works and to describe the status of woman both in her

“RIVĀYAT” OF EMĒT I AŠAVAHISTAN

own family and in that of her husband. According to whether her father has or has not an heir, natural or adopted, apart from herself, she is either free or not free to contract a “plenary” or “authorized” (*pātixšāyihā*) marriage which alone entitles her to dispose of her entire property in favour of her husband or her children. Likewise, if she has been married before, she is merely the *cagar* wife of her second husband. (Her position if she had children by her first husband is not, however, made very clear.) As regards repudiation, it is stated (question 7) that it is valid only when the woman is definitely at fault or alternatively if she agrees (deriving an advantage out of it is not enough). In questions of succession, the conversion to Islam of a male member of the family almost always has the effect of altering the status of the woman; if one of her brothers dies and the other becomes a Muslim and thus, by doing so, incurs under Mazdaean law a civil death, her status changes and remains changed even after the new marriage which she may contract (questions 1, 2). The property acquired by the apostate when he was a Mazdaean cannot be allowed to remain in his possession, since an ancient juridical saying lays down that property which has once belonged to a Mazdaean must not be permitted to slip from Mazdaean hands (question 4). In a diminished and defenceless Mazdaean community, however, matters could not always be so arranged (question 25). Repentance and return by an apostate are likewise provided for, and he will benefit from the same spiritual advantages after death as other Mazdaeans (question 26). The proximity of non-Mazdaeans (*akdēn*) is liable to result in contamination and Mazdaism, as is well known, is very scrupulous in this respect. On no account should the hot baths of Muslims be used (question 19), and it is essential, if a Muslim has been down into a well to clean it, that it should be purified afterwards with the utmost care (question 36). The sin of adultery committed with a non-Mazdaean woman is all the more serious if it results in the birth of a child who will be reared in the Evil Religion (question 42). With regard to contamination and the purification it calls for, difficulties arise not only from the presence of Muslims but also owing to the scarcity or the incompetence of the purifiers, that is of all Mazdaean ērpats. It appears in fact that this is the main preoccupation of the book, to judge from the number of times it is mentioned, an ērpat being required not only for purposes of purification but also for the appointment of Mazdaeans to exercise the functions imposed by family law. Where no ērpat is available, recourse must be had to some reasonably

well educated man or at least to a man of good repute (question 6). There must often have been ērpats who abandoned their office in order to take up some more lucrative occupation, such as that of soldier or brigand; in the event of their return, they would be suspended from their sacred office (questions 10 and 11), a factor which tended to reduce their numbers still further. Moreover, if they had failed to discharge a debt or fine, they could not in future be employed except for minor functions (question 9). It is hardly surprising therefore that certain poorly qualified persons should have usurped their office (question 12).

One seemingly quite practical question as to the praise or blame attaching to a man who, after deciding to build a bridge for the use of his fellow-citizens, changes his mind and devotes the money to other purposes, provokes a long and subtle dissertation on the relative merits of undertakings according to the circumstances and the manner in which they are accomplished (question 17).

With the publication of the *Rivāyat* of Ēmēt a few years before that of the *Rivāyat* of Āturfarnbag (see above) one of the surprises in store must have been the small group of questions devoted to the forms of marriage between close relations (*xvētōdāt*), the existence of which, even in remote antiquity, was vehemently contested in the last century. The answers leave no room for doubt concerning the practice of the custom, its various forms (marriage with sister, daughter or mother), its quasi-solemnization (verbal promise, witnesses) and, especially, as regards belief in the meritorious nature of the act, be it actually performed by a man, or intended and subsequently frustrated, or encouraged among others, with or without the hope of progeny (questions 22, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30). In the light of the historical context, as revealed by the book, it is astonishing that such a custom should have persisted in full vigour within the Mazdaean community, surrounded as it was on all sides by Islam. It may be wondered whether the Muslim authorities were actually ignorant or preferred to appear ignorant of practices which belonged strictly to the personal law of their non-Muslim "subjects". In any case, against this evidently historical background, the discussions aroused by these questions can certainly not be regarded as either idle or academic.

It may be noted in passing that in two passages a distinction is made between "apostates" and persons who are born into the "Evil Religion" (questions 4, 6) but who have, notwithstanding, practised the Mazdaean virtues (questions 26, 28).

“RIVĀYAT” OF EMĒT I AŠAVAHISTAN

Two chapters contain brief replies to a collection of theological questions. The first series (question 39) recalls the principal points of individual eschatology: the fate of the soul after death and before the resurrection of the body, the effect of the confession of sins (*patēt*) or, failing confession, of the ritual of the three nights (*satus̄*), the perpetuity of the pains of Hell only until the resurrection, the protection of the souls of the deceased by the Creator, even in Hell, the existence of an intermediate region for “moderate” sinners, the difference between the state of the just and that of the damned – the just man enjoying the society of his kind, while each of the damned believes himself to be alone. The second series (question 40) considers various aspects of the important problem, so often discussed by Mazdaeans and Muslims alike, of the extent to which a man’s actions are governed by divine predestination or by his own freewill.

This book, like the works of Manušcīhr, clearly contributes some valuable evidence on the practical life of the Mazdaeans at a time when they were on the defensive against Islam. Following the *Rivāyat* of Āturfarnbag in Ms. TD 2 is another series of four questions asked by ērpat Spenddāt – Farruxburzīn, with answers of the head mōbad Frēhsrōš i Vahrāmān in A.D. 1008. The only significant one presents us with the rare occurrence of a conflict between Mazdaeans of Khurāsān and an official (*sūltānīk*) of Baghdad who had enforced an intercalation in the calendar, one Abū Mansūr (?) who was obviously a Muslim. Following on the colophon of this *rivāyat* come thirty more questions on points of liturgy. There is no indication of their being by the same author as the previous *rivāyat*. The theoretical works now to be examined reflect not so much the historical situation as the radical conflict of doctrine in which the Mazdaeans changed over to the attack.

IV. “DĒNKART III”

A survey was made in the previous volume of the parts of the *Dēnkart* whose contents must certainly have been known to the Mazdaeans of the Sāsānian period. Here special attention will be given to Book III, the most important theological work left by the Mazdaeans. The other “doctrinal” books, IV and V, appear to be versions of or extracts from earlier writings of one or of several authors. The author or editor of Book III was a mōbad named Āturpāt i Emētān; according to information provided by Mas‘ūdī and Ḥamza he may be placed chronologically

ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE AFTER THE CONQUEST

near the middle of the 4th/10th century and he is known to have exercised spiritual authority over the Mazdaeans in southern Iran. He himself reveals nothing of his identity until the final chapter of Book III, in which he traces the history of the transmission of the Avesta and the part played in it by Āturfarnbag. His own work was rather to collect and epitomize the sum of religious thought expressed in later books, chiefly in the *zand*, in the sayings of the Ancients, and in the *Advēn nāmak* of Āturfarnbag which was probably already a compilation. We know nothing of what was contained in Books I and II of his *Dēnkart*. The content of Book III is made perfectly clear by the clause: "from (or according to) the teachings of the Good Religion" that comes at the end of the titles of almost all the chapters, except those dealing with the outward form of the Dēn. This goes to show that the author's purpose is to systematize the Religion, and to bring out the (metaphysical) principles that give force and life to its structure.

The book opens with twelve short answers to questions put by sundry "heretics" and sixteen other answers to questions put by a disciple. The page containing the first question has been lost in the only surviving manuscript, and the succeeding pages are damaged. The manuscript is, moreover, very imperfect and requires continual correction; even the scribe was aware of this in several instances and chose to repeat a complete chapter which he himself copied badly or copied from an original which was in itself bad. Despite the ingenuity of modern scholars, numerous pages will continue to remain obscure.

Apart from some very long chapters on xvētōdāt (Chapter 80), on gēti (Chapter 123), and on medicine (Chapter 157), no chapter exceeds three or four pages in length. Their order is quite arbitrary: some, like those which contain answers to opinions formulated in the previous chapter, are in the right order, but most frequently the connection between them is weak and depends on words rather than on the sense. There is, however, no doubt regarding the unity of the book: the same subjects are pursued and the same ideas are discussed from points of view which at times scarcely differ from one another.

Moreover, the single preoccupation which governed the compilation of the book becomes apparent from the ideological circumstances in which it was written. It must not be forgotten that, at the time and place of its origin, the development of Muslim thought was in full spate; its purpose therefore was both to consolidate the faith of Mazdaeans who – in direct proportion to their intellectual level – were

"DENKART III"

tempted to desert their ancient religion with its load of myth and ritual, and also to explain it in comprehensible and convincing terms to those most apostolic invaders who must have been holding it up to ridicule. But their own religion was surely subject to criticism, and hence the defence of Mazdaism would imply almost inevitably an ordered attack on the new faith. This offensive is directed seldom at the texts but in full measure at those doctrines universally accepted by the enemy, and to this end, since the appeal to any authority would not be valid here, it is rational philosophy which predominates, the rational argument which alone can carry conviction.

There is here something quite different from dialectical opportunism; when the Muslim *mutakallim* argues with Greek philosophers or with Muslim *falāsifa*, he concentrates on seeking out internal contradictions in tenets of his opponents so as to discredit them completely. These are rational arguments which may be used to oppose the processes of reason itself. The Mazdaean line of argument runs an entirely different course: it is founded on the great truths of metaphysics in opposition to the narrow metaphysical system – often deliberately, theoretically narrow – of the Muslim theologians. The omniscience of God, His justice, His providence, His wisdom are the pillars of knowledge and thus the criteria of that truth which is under discussion. Inevitably this starting point will be compared with the Mu‘tazilite viewpoint, and it may be thought that, when the latter were accused, in a famous *hadīth*, of being the “*majūs* of Islam”, it was not simply on account of their theory of human freedom, but rather because both sides, basing their argument on the justice of God, deduced as a consequence what should or should not be properly attributed to God. This line of thought must have appeared as imposing a limit to the omnipotence of God and, in any case, as authorizing an interpretation of the spirit of the revealed texts going far beyond the letter. Indeed, the Mazdaism which is defined and illustrated by the third book of the *Dēnkart*, far from disputing on words, recognizes from the outset a natural (they will say “innate”) knowledge of God and regards “innate reason” (*asn-xrat*) and the Good Religion as fundamentally one. It follows that, at least in Book III, the *Dēnkart* says comparatively little about the revelation, as such, about the communication made to mankind by Ohrmazd, through the mediation of the prophet Zarathustra, or the knowledge of such truths as eschatology, which cannot be attained by deduction. In ethics, on the other hand, the Mean (*patmān*) is the norm and source which is that

ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE AFTER THE CONQUEST

of reason in the realm of knowledge; both attributes are, of themselves, the prerogative of every man. It is these characteristics of accessibility and of universality which give to Mazdaism the superiority emphasized by its theologian throughout the book.

A more detailed survey is desirable, however, of the adversaries either mentioned by name or indirectly implied by the context. Most frequently mentioned are the “doctors” (*kēšdārān* = ‘*ulamā*’), who are almost invariably Muslims but without being specified as such. In nearly fifty chapters the doctrine set out in the title is followed by a demonstration of the incompatibility of a true conception of God with the doctrines, briefly summarized, of the *kēšdārān*.

Direct references to Qur’anic doctrine are typical, in relation to the *kēšdārān*; their prophet represents himself as the Seal of Prophecy; the Creator, after forbidding any cult but His own, commands the angels to worship man. In particular, the eternity of the pains of Hell seems to conflict with the justice of God and, still more, with the wisdom of His providence, the perfection of His original plan. The omnipotence of God is not consistent with the fact that His will is contradicted by the sin of His own creatures and, indeed, how is the all-goodness of God to be reconciled with any kind of responsibility for evil, be it nothing more than mere “permission”? Some of the attacks are aimed more particularly at a Mu’tazilite belief: the non-existence in God of such eternal attributes as the source of action in time.

In at least one instance the *kēšdārān* are Christians: Chapter 40 deals with the Trinity and with the absurdity of father and son appearing simultaneously in time. With regard to the Jews, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether their faith or practices are the real target since these are common to Jews and Muslims alike. Thus, for instance, the mythological personage Dhahāk (Zohāk), the enemy of Yim, is regarded as the ancestor of Abraham, while in the Shāh-nāma he is first and foremost the ancestor of the Arabs. The Manichaeans are not overlooked; their “precepts” are in direct opposition to those proclaimed by Āturpāt i Mahraspandān, and the *zandīk* (a term which in Muslim heresiology was applied specifically if not exclusively to Manichaeans) are rightly held responsible for the doctrine of the two souls, which Saint Augustine both expounded and refuted for posterity.

The author then appears to be fairly well informed on the beliefs of his opponents and cannot be accused of either distortion or misunder-

“DĒNKART III”

standing; again his attack is not a dialectical exercise but comes to grips with reality.

Without any attempt being made to summarize all the chapters of Book III, the important doctrines set out in them may be considered with the purpose of showing the way in which they cohere and are linked together. The basic dogma is clearly that of “classical” Mazdaism (disregarding the *Gāthās*, which still present a problem of some obscurity), which postulates the existence, in addition to Ohrmazd the Creator, of Ahriman, the principle of Evil. From Good, however, only good can ensue and the principle of Good must necessarily bring everything to a good conclusion for its creatures. Evil is thus ultimately condemned, if not annihilated, a matter on which little explanation is given but which follows from the fact that it is *mēnōg* (transcendant) like the principle of Good and even more exclusively so. Indeed, while the Creator, whose *mēnōg* state was coveted and assailed by Evil, causes his creatures to pass from the *mēnōg* state to the state of *gētī* in which they are armed to struggle with and triumph over Evil, Ahriman, for his part, does not create in the true sense but makes use of *gētī* beings as his agents. It is they who, at the end of time, will disappear in a burst of dissolution or, in the case of men who have served their time in Hell, will be purified, transfigured and rendered immortal and blessed. Man has thus a militant function in the service of salvation. He is the lord of creation owing to his own free will thanks to which his nature (*cīhr*) becomes a wilful nature (*kāmakīh*) and he is guided towards his object within the framework of society, according to the four classes of mankind – priests, warriors, husbandmen and craftsmen – topped by the good Iranian king. The part played by the last is thus moral and cosmic as well as political, and royalty, together with the Good Religion itself, is the pillar of the world. The alliance of the two is indissoluble and both enjoy a charisma – royal or religious – bearing the name *xvarrah*. It is possible to foresee what this doctrine, which runs through both the theology and the epic of Iran, was to become in the purely religious and esoteric context of Ismā‘ilism and in the Iranian world where, under Islam, people continued to live on their nostalgia for the charisma of royalty. The foundations had already been laid in the theological history of Zoroastrianism, in which Vištaspa was the “lay” champion of the new religion, which conferred legitimacy upon him. On the other hand the Islamic conquest represented a foreign conquest at the same time, so much so that the defeat of Zoroastrianism

ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE AFTER THE CONQUEST

came to be linked with that of the Iranian Empire in the sacred historiography which became part and parcel of the religious and national mythology.

To return to the question of human free will; it should be noted that this idea is traditionally Mazdaean, since the *Gāthās* so plainly insist on the "choice" of the primordial Good Spirit, but that it has been revived and subjected to philosophical analysis making use of the distinction between voluntary and natural action. There is, further, in the matter of divine responsibility a flat rejection of the view which can be, and which has been, deduced from the Qur'anic texts. Not only is God held to be in no way responsible for the evil committed by his creature, but the problem of the relationship between the free will of man and the causality of God is not even raised. The Mu'tazilites were more explicit: good and bad actions alike both lie outside the influence of God; their solution in support of human responsibility is radical. It is unlikely that the Mazdaeans deliberately adopted it, but the Mu'tazilites could understandably be thought to have followed the same trend of thought.

Although moral dualism was preserved complete by Mazdaism in its later period, the conception of "physical" dualism required some adjustments to comply with new information provided by Hellenistic physics which had long been common knowledge. Clearly the oppositions and contradictions which are apparent in the physical world could not be brought within the twofold scheme of good and evil, a fact which had been realized for some time. The physics of the elements and their opposites allowed for a systematic treatment which withdrew these realities from the moral sphere, even if transcendent. Herein lies the interest of the chapters which deal with the physical world, even though they bring in the assault of Evil, by relating it directly to the creation and to the "evolution" of the *gētī* as such. Little reference is made to the fact that the *mēnōg* had passed into the *gētī* state by reason of the Assault and, so to speak, "as a means of defence". This subject gives rise to some very interesting chapters on the stages of creation of the *gētī*, starting with the original "production" of matter, which then became subdivided into elements. These elements made up groups determined by their form (*dēsak*) and thence were evolved the autonomous and complex individuals who constitute the world. The elaboration of these ideas is not very advanced or very precise, but they are set out in such a way as to make it clear that this field of study was not over-

“DĒNKART III”

looked by the Mazdaeans of Iran, a country which at about the same time was providing Islamic culture with some of its greatest philosophers.

From natural science the book proceeds to psychology, ethics and medicine in relation to both body and mind; abundant information is to be found in the most ancient Mazdaean texts on all these studies, and especially with regard to the powers of the mind and to the various spiritual elements of which it is composed. The clarification of these concepts may perhaps make it possible, in spite of the lapse of time, to establish more exactly the meaning of certain words which date from the Avesta, for here, rather more than in natural science, the Iranian – perhaps even Indo-Iranian – heritage predominates. For instance, at the apex of the pyramid of the mental powers is “wisdom unborn” (*asn-xrat*), coupled with “wisdom acquired by hearing” (*gōš-asnūt-xrat*). In the later period of Mazdaism these concepts become “inborn intellect” and “acquired intellect”, but, despite this modification, they retain something of their former cosmic dimensions. In all these chapters on psychology, however, there is nothing that can compete with Greek science and the richly developed researches of Neoplatonism, or with Indian speculation, in spite of the fact that the former had already penetrated the Arabic-speaking world of Islam, largely through the agency of Syriac-speaking Christians. Analysis appears here only in rudimentary form and is chiefly concerned with the classification of ancient beliefs in the course of transformation.

The systematic treatment of ethics is conducted along more rigorous lines; here also the ideas are traditional, but the tabulation of virtues and vices is borrowed largely from the peripatetic school. There are grounds for the belief that this borrowing is not of recent date but can be traced back to the lost Nasks of the Avesta, as is suggested by the rich miscellany of ethical learning which makes up Book VI of the *Dēnkart*. There are two factors which tend to confirm the supposition that the knowledge of Greek ethics was fairly widespread in the Iranian world. On the one hand the Sāsānian Empire was to offer hospitality to the Greek philosophers of the School of Athens when it was closed on the orders of Justinian, an invitation which can only be explained if the Iranians had already come into contact with Greek thought. Secondly, the discovery in Afghanistan of rock inscriptions bearing some of the edicts of Priyadarsi-Asoka, in a Greek translation which is both elegant and scholarly, shows that there existed in the Iranian world a public

ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE AFTER THE CONQUEST

which was well versed in the technicalities of Greek philosophical thought. At this point there is a link with the principle of the Mean, presented as the distinctive feature of Iranian ethics, which should appeal to the sympathies of all good minds (while at the same time diverting them from Islam and Christianity). Nevertheless, within this Greek setting it is indeed the Iranian virtues which reappear. The synthesis or fusion was successfully achieved and was to leave its mark on the whole rich field of ethics known to mediaeval Muslim Iran.

In this summary an attempt has especially been made to sort out the fundamental doctrines, which can easily be traced throughout all these chapters in spite of their haphazard arrangement. Even in this study of the theoretical texture we can see the link with the doctrines of the past. In reading Book III it must not be forgotten that in Book VIII the author elected to recapitulate, in very great detail, all the Nasks of the Avesta which had survived the shipwreck of Mazdaean culture, and that in Book IX he collected, in a Pahlavī translation, numerous passages from the lost Avesta which illustrated Gāthic teachings by means of myth. There is thus no question of a religion which has given way to philosophy or which would have abandoned the imagery of the revelation of Zarathustra. Even in Book III many references are to be found to doctrines of this type, in addition to rational justifications of the ritual and use of the Avestan vocabulary, only slightly transposed into Pahlavī, which serve as reminders of the vitality and the continuity of this religious tradition. The fact remains that Book III marks a stage of the greatest importance.

V. "ŠKAND-GUMĀNĪK VICĀR"

The author of this last great treatise of the later period of Mazdaism, Martān-Farrux i Ohrmazddātān, gives himself as a man in search of truth and eager to set his faith on a solid foundation while establishing its superiority over the other religions – Judaism, Christianity, Manichaeism and Islam, all of which he refutes in great detail. In this theoretical undertaking he relies on the works of his predecessors, describing himself as their pupil and populariser. There is firstly a certain Āturpāt i Yāvandān (?), of whom nothing is known, not even the exact form of his father's name, but he appears to be connected with Āturfarnbag i Farruxzātān, mentioned in every instance as the author of the *Dēnkart*. He also refers to Rōšn i Āturfarnbagān, author of a

“ŠKAND-GUMĀNĪK VICĀR”

Rōšan nīpīk which is the one mentioned in the *Fibrīst* of al-Nadīm (the title occurs quite frequently).

The book is divided into two parts: one of them is theoretical, in the form of replies to various questions put to him by a certain Mihrāyyār i Mahmatān, who may have been a Muslim, and expositions of theories of cosmogony and cosmology, all tending to establish the truth of dualism. The other part, which is a polemic, deals with the four religions and also with the *dahriyya*, the sophists and the atheists. Here is a confrontation not only of the established religions but of those currents of irreligious or even anti-religious thought against which all the others must do battle. The arguments directed against any adversary could be utilized by one or other of the opponents whereas it could be turned round against the allies of a moment ago. It is accordingly not easy to determine which side has fathered this or that argument, but at least it may be imagined that the arguments against Judaism and Christianity were polished and tested at the time when Mazdaism found itself at close quarters with them, that is to say in the Sāsānian period, and that this arsenal may have been later reassembled and utilized by the same Iranians after they had become Muslims. It is also possible that in these early times the three established religions may have had to deal with all kinds of “irreligious” persons. In any case it is remarkable that the first compilations of arguments against the other religions – and the first more or less objective expositions of those religions as viewed by their Muslim opponents – should have been almost contemporaneous with a book like the *Škand-gumānīk vicār* and of the same type.

The first chapter – the division into chapters is the work of modern editors – gives an all-round picture of the world of the gods and the world of the *gētī* with the Dēn, which is like a tree, its trunk being that Mean whence come all the hierarchy of which mankind and human society are composed. The problem which at once arises of the opposites and contradictions lying at the heart of the Good World is the subject of Chapter 2; the solution of it leads directly to the question of the ultimate responsibility for evil and there follows an endeavour, in the face of all objections, to establish that evil never truly results from good, in spite of appearances arising from the interplay within the celestial sphere of the stars of Ohrmazd and the planets of Ahriman (Chapters 3 and 4). Confutation of atheists and of the *dahriyya* (Chapters 5 and 6) begins with a substantial piece of epistemology on the ways

leading to knowledge and especially to the knowledge of God: the starting point being the argument on responsibility and predetermination. The whole dissertation culminates in a demonstration of the belief that, in order to account for the existence of evil, leaving out the Prime Cause, which cannot be otherwise than good, wise and all-powerful over that which originates from it, there must be a principle which is external to God (Chapter 7). Corroboration is provided by an analysis of what takes place in the *gētī*, the anti-type of the *mēnōg*, which is engulfed in the struggle but is provided by the Creator with a means of defence. Everything suggests that Evil is a principle and a principle which is unique (Chapter 8). It follows that the struggle against evil is the very purpose of the divine act of creation, having been foreseen before the constitution of the beings of the *gētī*, who are to be the principal performers: it is thus imposed upon the Creator and on creation (Chapter 9). This chapter quotes a whole chapter of *Dēnkart III*, only the title of which is actually found in the *Dēnkart*. It looks as though that chapter had been literally torn out of the archetype of the extant manuscript – a fact which suggests that there were very few copies of the *Dēnkart* in circulation. The strictly speculative part of the book ends with Chapter 10 which deals with the inner aspects of the history of Mazdaism. Man, by means of the *Dēn* which is the organ of religious knowledge, succeeds in resisting the enticements of the Antagonist, a process that makes up the religious (e.g. Mazdaean) history of humanity. The opportunity is taken to give a brief summary of the history of Zoroastrianism, which first faithfully follows the traditional legend of Zoroaster's mission, the conversion of Viśtaspa and the religious war; then it becomes quasi-historic since it mentions the ordeal to which Āturpāt i Mahraspandān submitted in order to bear witness to the truth of the Religion against the heretics.

Next comes the full array of polemics. Chapters 11 and 12 significantly begin with an attack on Islam, as being a typically monist religion. All the critical arguments of the *Dēnkart* are taken up, recapitulated and directed specifically against numerous texts in the Qur'ān, selected mainly from the first forty *suras*, in addition to attacks aimed at beliefs which are peculiar to the Mu'tazilites; since their premises were often identical with those of the Mazdaeans it was easy to confront them persistently with the existence of evil in order to coerce them into admitting the existence of the Antagonist.

Chapter 12 takes account of the criticisms directed by Islam against

“ŠKAND-GUMĀNÍK VICĀR”

Mazdaism and replies to them by expounding the fundamental optimism of the Good Religion, according to which the existence of evil and its ravages, for which God is in no way responsible, are held in check and strictly limited by the prescience and the power of God who will not tolerate an everlasting mixture of good and evil, and at the end of time will deliver all his creatures. This defence of Mazdaism is manifestly based on the *Dēnkart*.

In his criticism of Judaism (Chapters 13 and 14) the author refers initially to the texts of the first chapters of Genesis and particularly to the account of the fall of man, a theme already touched upon in connection with the Qur'anic texts on the same subject. The Biblical version used, although generally consistent with the Hebrew, shows traces of Targumic and even of Syriac translations. According to the Armenian authors who supply us with information on the controversies between Christians and Mazdaeans under Yazdgard II, the latter were not ignorant, at that period, of the doctrines, nor probably of the Biblical texts, of either the Old or the New Testament. In addition Jewish *midrašim* are also quoted here, for purposes of ridicule; it is not quite certain whether the author had first-hand knowledge of them from the Hebrew or Aramaic texts, but the later *midraš* is known to have been echoed sometimes in the Muslim *hadith* and traces are to be found even in the “Thousand and One Nights”, a collection which contains, as is well known, a fair amount of Iranian tradition.

The review of Christianity (Chapter 15) deals with the principal Christian mysteries: the Incarnation, the redemptive death of Christ and the revelation of the Trinity. The important texts of the New Testament are quoted freely and, what is more interesting, all those which may be adduced in support of a true dualism are exploited accordingly. Christianity is given the name which it continued to bear in Iran of the religion of the “Godfearing” (*tarsākīh*). In Chapter 40 of the *Dēnkart* a direct attack had already been made on the doctrine of the Trinity.

The final chapter (16) is devoted to Manichaeism and provides a very objective and competent exposition of its cosmology, followed by systematic criticism, of which only the beginning has been preserved. It deals with the description of the first “age” of cosmic history, when the two infinites of spirit and matter coexisted in juxtaposition. The Manichaean account of this state is given in terms which are clearly mythical, allowing for the drastic criticism of the Mazdean author.

ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE AFTER THE CONQUEST

Other Mazdaean texts give more pertinent criticism of the dogma, customs and ethics of the Manichaeans. A false dualism, starting from the postulate that evil comes from matter, must have seemed all the more dangerous to a dualism like the Mazdaean, which was not in the least "Platonic". Indeed, Mani had been put to death by order of the Iranian government at the instigation of the clergy led by Kartēr. During the Muslim period the *zandiqs* who were prosecuted and condemned by the authorities were mostly fellow-travellers of Manichaeism, though care must be taken not to interpret the word "Manichaean" more literally in relation to the Muslim controversy than when it appears in the Christian polemics of the Patristic period or mediaeval periods. It was easy to treat as "dualism" the least semblance of deviation from strict Christian or Muslim monotheism and easier still to designate as "Manichaean" any appearance of dualism. However, the eastern world had a first-hand experience of Manichaeism which must have lasted for a long time: the charge of Manichaeism levelled against an alleged heretic was damning. There is hardly any direct information on the history of Iranian Manichaeism after the execution of Mani, but the fact remains that all the documents found in Central Asia, in Soghdian, Old Turkish, Kuchean or Chinese, have been translated from Parthian and Middle Persian, the two dialects of western Iran.

The Zoroastrian scholars living under Islamic rule did not confine themselves to writing in Pahlavī, for the internal use of their own community. They also wrote in Persian, a language and above all a script which was known to non-Mazdaeans as also to the new generations of Mazdaeans who could read Pahlavī only a little or with difficulty. Among the works which have survived are translations or adaptations of Pahlavī books, complete or fragmentary, including some verse which does not, however, show much poetic inspiration. These translations are of interest in that they reveal how religious knowledge has been preserved and handed down; they also dispose of the belief which is an over-simplification, but widely held, that the life of the Mazdaean community completely disappeared from Iran under Islamic rule, as though from the 4th/10th century onward it was to be sought in India alone. Although it is in fact in India that the vast majority of Mazdaean manuscripts known today are to be found, it must be remembered that they did not all arrive there in the 4th/10th century. On the contrary, the ignorance of the Indian communities can be gauged by the numer-

“ŠKAND-GUMĀNIK VICĀR”

ous epistolary consultations in which they engaged with the Mazdaeans who had remained in Iran – and this was from the 9th/15th century onward – for the purpose of renewing or checking their knowledge on questions of doctrine or ritual. The replies have been preserved and published, very unsystematically, in collections vaguely designated as *rivāyāt*, which also contain the translations mentioned above and short writings on religious controversy or propaganda. The most important of them will now be considered.

‘*Ulamā-yi Islām*’ is the title of a kind of dialogue between Muslim and Mazdean divines, in which the latter reply at length to the questions of the former. On the subject of cosmogony it is striking that the exposition emphasizes the part played by Time, regarded as “uncreated” and prior to Ohrmazd, whom it nevertheless serves notwithstanding the services it renders to Ahriman. This is in fact the Zurvānist doctrine, known to both Christian and Manichaeian polemicists of the Sāsānian period and more so to the Muslim heresiologists. This does not mean that all speculations about time should be listed as deriving from the myth of Primordial Time, father of the twins Ohrmazd and Ahriman, which does not incidentally even appear in its achieved form in the ‘*Ulamā-yi Islām*’. The latter, however, provides very good evidence of the astronomical speculations connected with Zurvānism. Another short book which bears the same title (known as ‘*Ulamā-yi Islām I*’) is a miscellany of answers to Muslim objections; in it is to be found a direct appropriation of a well-known Muslim tenet expressed by saying that God is “a thing which is not like other things”.

In considering Mazdean culture in Muslim Iran one should remember that all the important treatises analysed here are contained in manuscripts which were written in Iran, particularly in Fārs and in Kirmān, and were not brought by the Parsees to India until quite late, in the 18th and, still more, the 19th century. At that time the intellectual level of the Zoroastrians of Iran was not very high and their social position was in most cases precarious, while among the Parsees in India some of the large fortunes which resulted from the modernization of the sub-continent made it possible for schools to be opened and for young scholars to be educated. The progress of this community had its effect ultimately on the conditions of their coreligionists in the mother country; meanwhile, however, the patrons of learning and the scholars had stripped what was left of the private libraries of Iran.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Volume Editor's Note

The bibliographies printed below are selective and not intended to be complete; in general they include those works used by each author in the preparation of his chapter. It has not been possible to check the source references of all authors, especially where rare editions of texts have been used. As a rule books and articles superseded by later publications have not been included.

The abbreviations and short titles used in the bibliographies are listed below.

<i>AA</i>	<i>Arts asiatiques</i> (Paris)
<i>AESC</i>	<i>Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations</i> (Paris)
<i>AGNT</i>	<i>Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik</i> (Leipzig)
<i>AGWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> (Berlin)
<i>AI</i>	<i>Ars Islamica</i> (Ann Arbor, Mich.)
<i>AIEO</i>	<i>Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales</i> (Paris–Algiers)
<i>AIUON</i>	<i>Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli</i> (Naples)
<i>AJSLL</i>	<i>The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> (Chicago)
<i>ANS</i>	American Numismatic Society
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i> (New York)
<i>ANSNNM</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i> (New York)
<i>ANSNS</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Numismatic Studies</i> (New York)
<i>AO</i>	<i>Ars Orientalis</i> (continuation of <i>Ars Islamica</i>) (Ann Arbor, Mich.)
<i>BAIPAA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology</i> (New York)
<i>BGA</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i> , 8 vols. (Leiden)
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> (Cairo)
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> (London)
<i>EI</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i> (Leiden)
<i>GMS</i>	“E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” series (Leiden–London)
<i>IA</i>	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i> (Leiden)
<i>IC</i>	<i>Islamic Culture</i> (Hyderabad)
<i>IQ</i>	<i>Islamic Quarterly</i> (London)
<i>Iran</i>	<i>Iran</i> (journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies) (London–Tehrān)
<i>Iraq</i>	<i>Iraq</i> (journal of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq) (London)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

<i>IS</i>	<i>Islamic Studies</i> (journal of the Central Institute of Islamic Studies, Karachi) (Karachi)
<i>Der Islam</i>	<i>Der Islam</i> (Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients) (Berlin)
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal asiatique</i> (Paris)
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> (New York)
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient</i> (Leiden)
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> (continuation of <i>American Journal of Semitic Languages</i>) (Chicago)
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> (London)
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i> (Manchester)
<i>MRASB</i>	<i>Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> (Calcutta)
<i>MSOS</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen</i> (Berlin)
<i>MW</i>	<i>Muslim World</i> (Hartford, Conn.)
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> (London)
<i>NHR</i>	Miles, G. C. <i>The Numismatic History of Rayy</i> . New York, 1938 (<i>ANSNS</i> , vol. II)
<i>NZ</i>	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift</i> (Vienna)
<i>RENLO</i>	<i>Revue de l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales</i> (Paris)
<i>RFLM</i>	<i>Revue de la Faculté des Lettres de Meched</i> (Mashhad)
<i>RFLT</i>	<i>Revue de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de Téhéran</i> (Tehrān)
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue numismatique</i> (Paris)
<i>SBWAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Wiener (Österreichischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Vienna)
<i>Syria</i>	<i>Syria</i> (revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie) (Paris)
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> (Vienna)
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> (Wiesbaden)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

14. *Kitāb al-dalā'il* (753)? mentioned in *Khwān al-ikhwān*, perhaps the same as 13?
15. *Kitāb 'ajā'ib al-ṣan'āt* (758), mentioned in the *Jāmi'*.
16. *Kitāb lisān al-‘ālim* (757), mentioned in the *Jāmi'*.
17. *Kitāb ikhtiyār al-imām wa ikhtiyār al-īmān* (756), mentioned in the *Jāmi'*.
18. *Gharā'ib al-hisāb wa 'ajā'ib al-hussāb* (759), mentioned in the *Jāmi'*.

C. There remain eleven titles mentioned by Ivanow, the attribution of which to Nāṣir is either dubious or impossible. Most celebrated is the *Kalām-i pīr* (761), much revered by Ismā‘ilis of Central Asia. The *Gauhar-rīz* (742) is a romanticized biography of Nāṣir. The *Sa‘ādat-nāma* (760) was for a long time attributed to Nāṣir, but in fact it belongs to a man of the same name, Nāṣir-i Khusrāu of Iṣfahān who died in 753/1352. The rest of the works have nothing to do with our Nāṣir and need not be considered.

2. Secondary works

Corbin, H. *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*. Paris, 1964.
Ivanow, W. *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism*. Bombay, 1946.
A Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism. Bombay–Leiden, 1952.
Nasiri Khosraw and Ismailism. Bombay–Leiden, 1948.
Lewis, B. *The Origins of Ismailism*. Cambridge, 1940.
The Assassins. London, 1968.
Stern, S. M. “The Early Ismā‘ili Missionaries in North-west Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania”. *BSOAS*, vol. xxiii (1960), pp. 56–90.

CHAPTER 17

1. Zoroastrian texts in Middle Persian

Āturpāt i Farrux-zātān. *Dēnkart*, book iv (see bibliography, *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. III).

Gujastak Abalish, ed. and French tr. A. Barthélemy (Paris, 1887); ed. and English tr. H. F. Chacha (Bombay, 1936); Persian tr. Šādiq Hidāyat (Tehrān, 1318/1940).

The Pahlavī Rivāyat of Aturfarnbag and Farnbag-Sroš, ed. and tr. B. T. Anklesaria. Bombay, 1969.

Manušcihr i Gōšn-Yam. *Epistles*, ed. B. N. Dhabhar (Bombay, 1912); tr. E. W. West in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xviii (Oxford, 1882).

Dādistān i dēnīk: questions 1–40, ed. T. D. Anklesaria (Bombay, 1911); questions 41–92, ed. P. K. Anklesaria (thesis, London, 1958); English tr. West, *op. cit.*

Emēt i Ašavahistān, ed. B. Anklesaria (Bombay, 1962); French tr. of parts J. de Menasce in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (Paris, 1962) and *Festschrift für Eilers* (Wiesbaden, 1967).

Dēnkart, book iii (see bibliography, *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. III); French tr. J. de Menasce (Paris, 1973).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Škand Gūmānīk vicār, ed. H. J. Jamasp-Asana and E. W. West (Bombay, 1887); English tr. E. W. West in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxiv (Oxford, 1885); ed. with French tr. and commentary by J. de Menasce (Fribourg-en-Suisse, 1945).

2. Zoroastrian texts in Persian

Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat, 2 vols., ed. M. R. Unvala (Bombay, 1922); English tr. of large parts and from other *Rivāyats* B. N. Dhabhar as *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyār Framarz* (Bombay, 1932).

'Ulamā-yi Islām I is given in Unvala's text, vol. II, pp. 72–80, and in Dhabhar's translation pp. 437–49.

'Ulamā-yi Islām II is given in Unvala's text, vol. II, pp. 80–6, and in Dhabhar's translation pp. 449–57; also in R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan, A Zoroastrian Dilemma* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 409–18, and in French tr. by E. Blochet in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vol. xxxvii (Paris, 1898), pp. 40–9.

CHAPTER 18

Abu'l-Faraj al-İsfahānī. *Kitāb al-agħānī*. Cairo, 1345/1927.

Abū Ḥayyān al-Tauḥidī. *al-Imtā' wa'l-mu'ānasa*. Cairo, 1373/1953.
al-Muqābasāt. Cairo, 1347/1929.

Abū Nu'aim al-İsfahānī. *Hilyat al-auliyā'*. Cairo, 1351/1933.

Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī. *Qūṭ al-qulūb*. Cairo, 1310/1893.

Barbier de Meynard. "Tableau littéraire du Khorassan et de la Transoxiane au IVe siècle de l'hégire", *JĀ*, 5th series, vol. I (1853), pp. 169–239; vol. III (1854), pp. 291–361.

Blau, J. *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*. Oxford, 1965.

Browne, E. G. *Literary History of Persia*. Cambridge, 1928.

Christensen, A. *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*. Paris, 1936.

Dodge, B. *Muslim Education in Medieval Times*. Washington, D.C., 1962.

Fück, J. W. *'Arabiya*. Berlin, 1950. French tr. Claude Denizeau. Paris, 1955.

Goldziher, I. "Education (Muslim)" in *Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. v, New York, 1912.

Haywood, J. A. *Arabic Lexicography: Its History, and Its Place in the General History of Lexicography*. Leiden, 1960.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbih. *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, vol. II. Cairo, 1364/1945.

Ibn Khaldūn. *al-Muqaddima*. Beirut, 1956.

Ibn Qutaiba. *Adab al-kātib*. Cairo, 1377/1958.
al-Imāma wa'l-siyāsa. Cairo, 1377/1958.

al-Shi'r wa'l-shu'arā', ed. M. J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1904.

'Uyūn al-akhbār. Cairo, 1343/1925.

Ibn Sa'd. *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. E. Sachau. Leiden, 1904–28.

Jāhiz. *al-Bayān wa'l-tabyīn*. Cairo, 1380/1960.

Dhamm akhlāq al-kuttāb in *Three Essays*, ed. J. Finkel. Cairo, 1344/1926.